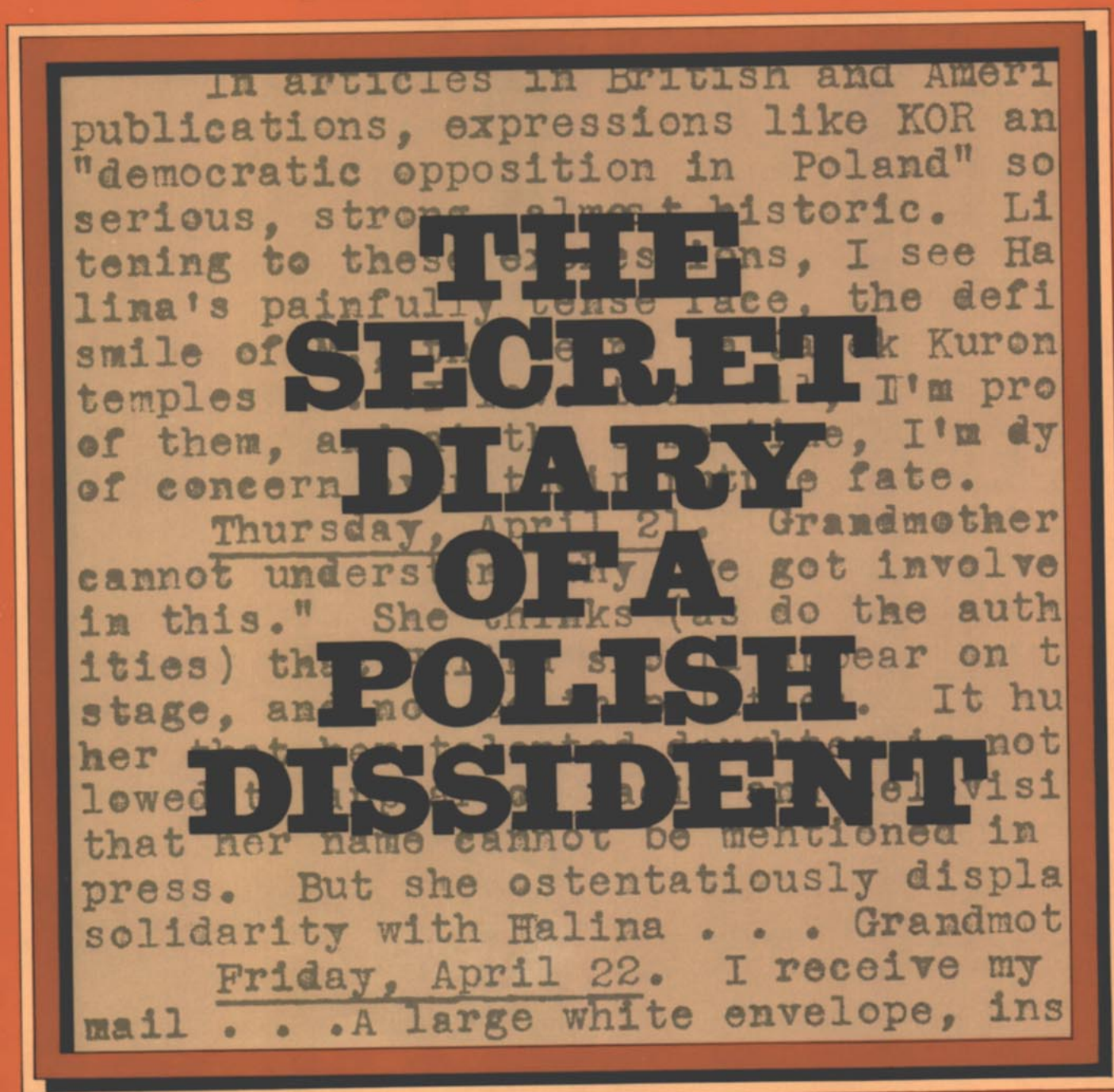
INQUIRY
MAGAZINE
APRIL 17, 1978 • $1.25

Noam Chomsky *on Just and Unjust Wars*

How the IMF Underwrites Apartheid

Why People Secede from the Public Schools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THE SECRET DIARY OF A POLISH DISSIDENT

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They said tuberculosis was hopeless.

They said polio was hopeless.

They said smallpox was hopeless.

Cancer is only a disease.

Even when most people considered the struggle against polio hopeless, the people who worked in medical research believed they would someday find the answer.

The same was true for tuberculosis. And for smallpox. The same is true for cancer now.

We know because we hear from people doing medical research in laboratories all over the country. They talk to us because they all need support. They are all excited because they all think they're on the right track. And that the work they're doing will unlock a secret and lead to a solution for cancer. And you know what?

At least one of them is right. But which one?

We must support them all.

American Cancer Society

We want to cure cancer in your lifetime.

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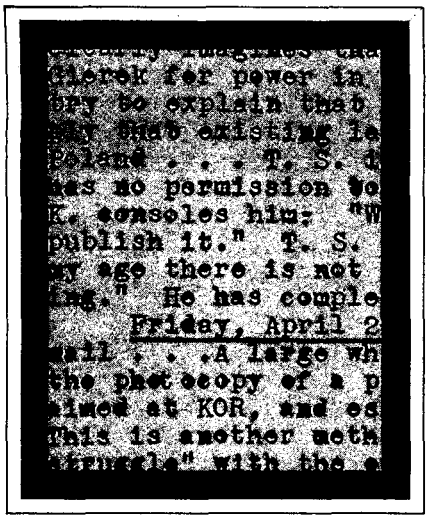

IN THIS ISSUE OF INQUIRY we publish the secret diary of W., a dissident Polish writer. Reading his account, you will discover that decades of tyranny have not destroyed the desire of men and women to be free: "Some people say that this is a hopeless struggle, condemned beforehand to be lost. They may be right. It is difficult for individuals to win the battle against a modern, well-organized state. But sometime in the future, when scholars document the evil of our time, it will be known that someone, at least, tried to oppose."

The secret diary of a Polish dissident

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RES PUBLICA

This looks like a job for the Plumbers . . .

■ The Justice Department is conducting an investigation here [Washington] and in New York in an attempt to learn how The New York Times obtained a copy of a classified report that said that Cuban espionage agents in the late 1960's and early 1970's provided limited aid to antiwar radicals in this country, a department spokesman confirmed today.

The investigation is the fourth that the Justice Department under Attorney General Griffin B. Bell has authorized in the last year in attempts to learn the sources of information provided reporters for The Times.

—New York Times, Mar. 11, 1978

. . . and this looks like one for Rosemary Woods

■ As early as last September, Neil Welch, special agent in charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Philadelphia, warned a top Justice Department official that the city was a "cesspool" of political corruption and urged that David W. Marston be kept there as United States Attorney, documents made public today showed.

Although Mr. Welch's warning was passed along to Justice Department officials in Washington, his statement was excised [by the Justice Department] from an affidavit taken in January from Russell T. Baker Jr., Deputy Assistant Attorney General, before the affidavit was made public.

—New York Times, Mar. 8, 1978

Base rights vs. human rights

■ Despite the Carter Administration's criticism of alleged human-rights violations in the Philippines, civilian and military officials in the Pacific and in the Pentagon want to strengthen military ties with President Ferdinand E. Marcos because, they assert, his country is crucial to United States interests in Asia. . . .

"Human rights does affect our interactions with lots of countries, all of them, but not all in exactly the same way," Defense Secretary Harold Brown told a news conference here [Honolulu] last week. "We certainly continue to be concerned about possible violations of human rights in the Philippines. . . . That's not a bar to our continuing our base-rights negotiations," he continued, "because the security of the Pacific area is important to the human rights of the people in the Pacific area."

—New York Times, Feb. 23, 1978

Far out

■ A plan to require remote control switches—operated by central utility companies—on air conditioners and possibly other appliances in 90 percent of the private homes in California is under consideration by the State Energy Commission. . . . [The Pacific Gas and Electric Company] is currently negotiating with a major aerospace firm to explore the possibility of using an orbiting satellite to control residential utility use.

—San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 10, 1978

Growing their own

■ While Hawaii state legislators debate the merits of decriminalizing or legalizing marijuana, a curious thing has been happening to agriculture here. Marijuana, or pakalolo as it is known in Hawaiian, is now the biggest cash crop in the state, surpassing sugar by perhaps more than $100 million in 1977, according to police and civilian estimates.

"It's the only major unsubsidized crop in Hawaii," said Neil Abercrombie, a state representative from Honolulu. "There's no doubt that pakalolo is a big business here. It just goes to show how free enterprise can compete with a subsidized crop like sugar."

—San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 19, 1978

Huh?

■ Turning to Middle East weapons sales and a proposed $4.8 billion "package" deal for military planes to Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, [Defense Secretary Harold] Brown said [at his news conference]:

"The situation in the Middle East is dangerous and difficult, and not selling arms would not make it any less so."

—New York Times, Mar. 11, 1978

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INQUIRIES

The Lebanon invasion

Both sides are losers

WHEN ISRAEL INVADED SOUTHERN Lebanon on March 15, its spokesmen said that Israel sought security from attacks by Palestinians. Israel's invasion came on the heels of a raid into Israel by a guerrilla unit of the Palestinian Fatah group.

The Fatah raid, which killed 36 civilians, was the worst such attack suffered in Israel's history. The subsequent Israeli invasion and the bombing and shelling of Palestinian and Lebanese villages resulted in heavy civilian casualties. There were so many civilian dead and wounded that some Lebanese politicans charged that Israel's move was directed at civilians in reprisal. Certainly the March violence brought death and destruction.

The different parties to the mid-March events accomplished little of what they themselves sought. Fatah did not advance toward a Palestinian state, world acceptance of the PLO's legitimacy, or ultimately harmonious relations between Arabs and Jews. Israel acquired further territory. But acquisition of considerable territory after the 1967 war gave Israel neither a firm sense of security nor actual immunity from Palestinian attacks. (The Fatah raiders who carried out the March 11 attack on the outskirts of Tel Aviv came by sea, not across the Lebanese border. Israel already had a tightly controlled border in the north, protected by a double fence, electronic devices, and military patrols.) Hence, it seems that security for Israel, if it is to be realized, must rest on something other than continued acquisitions of territory.

A peace settlement—to be just and lasting—must include Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory, the right of Palestinians to return to their homes in Israel, and Palestinian self-government. Such a settlement would remove the irritants which upset the Palestinians.

Israel's invasion has made a settlement of any sort more difficult. Tens of thousands of Lebanese Moslems have now been added to the Middle East's refugee population. And while Israel's demand that the UN, Syria, and the Beirut government suppress Palestinian organizations in Lebanon may be well received by the Israeli people, it adds to the tensions in the Middle East.

Early U.S. official comments on the Israeli invasion amounted to an implicit endorsement of Israel's objectives, and on March 19, the UN security council approved a U.S.-sponsored plan to move a small UN army into Lebanon. The UN itself is not an antiseptic medical probe but a political organization. It cannot be expected to be evenhanded. The UN observer team already in Lebanon has been the object of major harassment by Lebanese Christians—including thefts and hijackings—since September 1977. This does not augur well for the future of the incoming UN force. Its presence will formally entangle the UN's member states in the most active military front of the Arab-Israeli conflict and exacerbate the tendency of this conflict to balloon to global proportions.

Poisoning pot in Mexico

The war comes home

IN MARCH 1971, THE UNITED STATES stopped using herbicides in Vietnam. Of all the atrocities associated with that war, the defoliation program, intended to deprive enemy guerrillas of cover from aerial strikes, had become the most patently unjustifiable. Whatever its military value, the spraying of poisonous chemicals over the Vietnamese countryside was an act with inescapable consequences—such as sickness, starvation, and birth deformities—for the civilian population. And so, in response to the prevailing public disgust, the government decided to abandon the program and to content itself with less bizarre ways of killing people.

It is therefore appalling to learn that some seven years later the United States is involved in another massive defoliation program. This time the lucky country is Mexico, and the enemy is not some Third World liberation movement but the local marijuana and opium crop. Since some of the same chemicals, (2-4D and 2-4-5T, for example) are being used, it must be assumed that the effect on the Mexican farmers and their families is no less awful that it was on the Vietnamese peasants. This fact alone should cause the United States and Mexico (which has been carrying out the actual spraying operations with this country's logistical support and technical advice) to stop the defoliation program at once.

There is, of course, another compelling reason. There are, by most estimates, approximately 15 million regular users of marijuana in this country. It is also estimated that more than half of the marijuana smoked in the United States comes from Mexico. These statistics are important because, as the secretary of HEW, Joseph Califano, recently acknowledged, smoking marijuana contaminated with paraquat—the principle chemical being used on the Mexican marijuana fields—can cause irreversible lung damage. It seems that wars, even wars against drugs, have a way of coming home.

To date, the Carter administration has done nothing to bring the defoliation operations to an end. In fact, at his press conference—the same one at which he talked about the

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dangers of smoking contaminated marijuana—Califano declared that the United States had no intention of doing so. This places his boss, Jimmy Carter, in an odd position. In the first place, Carter should be at least as willing as Richard Nixon was in 1971 to stop poisoning peasant farmers. In the second, it is hypocritical for a President who has called for the "decriminalization" of marijuana, on the grounds that it is a relatively harmless substance, to support a program that succeeds only in turning it into genuine killer weed.

The Marston case

The politics of corruption

JIMMY CARTER HAS DECIDED, RE-cent reports tell us, that his administration should become more "political." After a year of butting his head against a stone wall of entrenched power in Congress, Carter has chosen to abandon the pose of the "outsider" pitted against the special interests, and he will now play the political game according to Washington's old rules. That Carter's staff reportedly talk about this new course in "hushed and nervous tones" should not surprise us, for we recently had a good preview of how our more "political" President intends to curry favor with Congress.

We refer, of course, to the Marston case. In November, Jimmy Carter, acting at the behest of Representative Joshua Eilberg (D.-Pa.), twice called Attorney General Griffin Bell and asked him to fire David Marston, the Republican U.S. attorney in Philadelphia. It seems that Marston, a prosecutor with a special flair for ferreting out political corruption, was making things uncomfortable for Eilberg and his political friends. Said Carter to Bell in one conversation: "He [Eilberg] claims that this man in Philadelphia doesn't do anything but prosecute Democrats." Following orders, Bell began to look for a replacement for Marston. Then, early in January, news of Marston's impending dismissal leaked to the press; so did the revelation that Eilberg and Daniel Flood (D.-Pa.) were subjects of a criminal investigation.

At his January 12 press conference, Carter denied that he was familiar with Marston's situation or had spoken to Bell about it. His memory later improved, and he allowed that he had pressed Bell to fire Marston. But the administration, anxious to avoid the appearance that the President and the attorney general had been involved in a conspiracy to obstruct justice, rushed to show that neither leader had known, when carrying out Eilberg's request, that the Pennsylvania congressman was being probed by the man he sought to oust. It was later revealed that on November 16 Marston had informed Russell T. Baker, his superior in the Justice Department, that Eilberg was under investigation, and Baker says that he passed this knowledge on to his boss, Benjamin Civiletti, head of the department's criminal division. Civiletti says he does not remember this; nor did he inform Bell. (Apparently, the investigation of congressmen has become so common that Civiletti can no longer keep track of the cases.)

If this is how the Carter administration intends to play politics, it is well that they should speak about it in "hushed and nervous tones." If Eilberg knew, when he telephoned the President, that Marston was investigating him, there is a good possibility that he obstructed justice; and if Baker's memory is correct, Civiletti may be guilty of that same crime. (There is, so far, no evidence that the Justice Department is anxious to follow this line of investigation.)

And what of Jimmy Carter, the man who wanted to put the administration of justice outside politics, but who now feels he must become more "political"? Although Carter may be speaking truthfully when he says that he did not know Marston was investigating Eilberg, who believes the President was so naive that he did not understand what Eilberg was telling him that afternoon in November? Corruption is pervasive in Pennsylvania, and Marston was making things hot for the Democratic machine there. Eilberg wanted Carter to take the heat off, and Carter obliged. It seems that Carter, like past Presidents, will not hesitate to wink at the law when it stands in the way of his achieving his goals. If the President does not understand that he can be "political" without condoning corruption, his aides have good reason to be nervous.

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NAT HENTOFF

A profoundly un-American bill

THE CONSTITUTION, THE Bill of Rights, and the other amendments are so compact that they can fit into a thin pamphlet to be carried in a pocket for ready reference. Indeed, Justice Hugo Black used to give just such a blue-covered paperback repository of liberty to friends for Christmas. And I have long used a similar booklet that is sold as a souvenir at Jefferson's Monticello.

My booklet begins with two quotations:

"In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man . . . but bind him down from mischief by chains of the Constitution" (Jefferson).

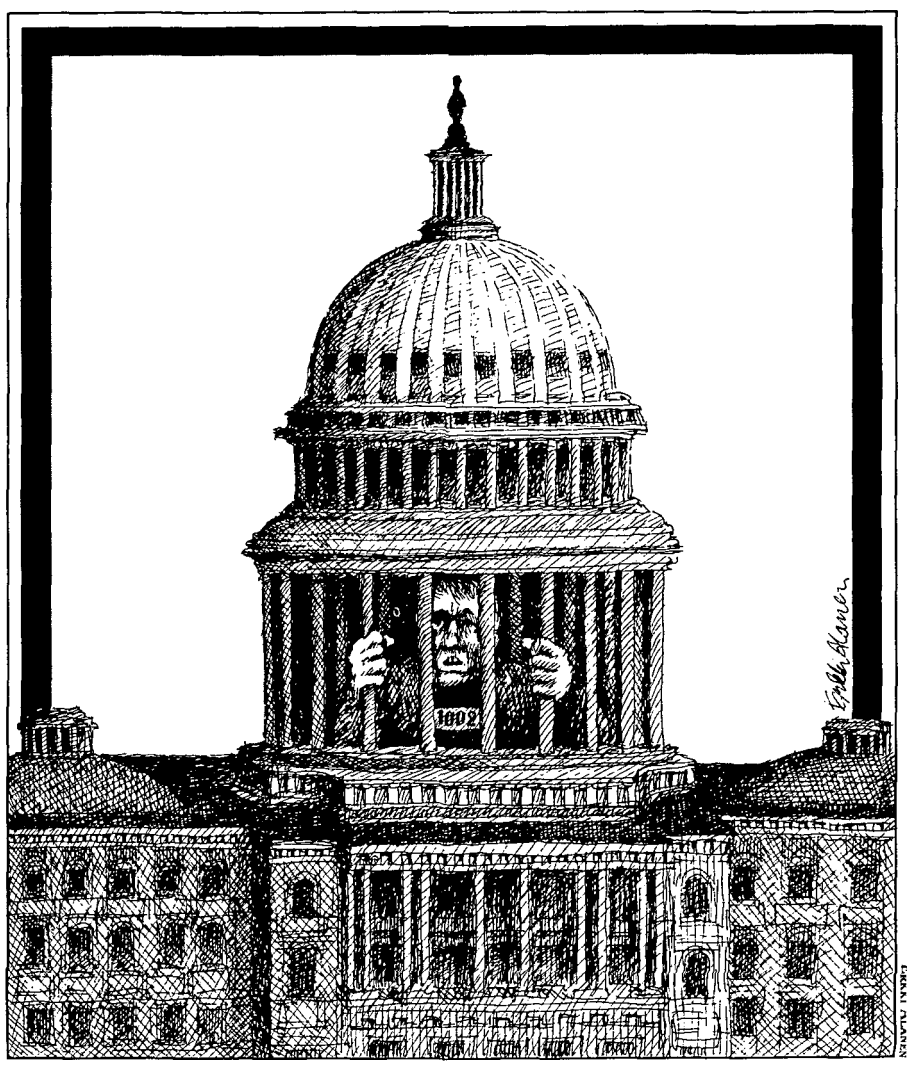
"This Government, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit the United States" (Lincoln).

My booklet never looked quite so frail, however, as when put alongside a bill passed by the Senate on January 30, and then sent to the House. If it passes the lower chamber and becomes law by the end of the year, this bill will have gone a long way toward making the people of the United States belong to the government, for it shreds a number of basic guarantees that until now have protected the people *against* the government.

The bill, 682 pages long, would push any pocket out of shape, and it does the same thing to the Constitution. It is S. 1437, also called the Criminal Code Reform Act of 1978, drawn up through the efforts of Ted Kennedy and the late John McClellan. On the surface, this act is a revision and reform of federal criminal laws—the first such codification since 1909. At its core, however, S. 1437 is a radical revision of our constitutional heritage. As the *Los Angeles Times*—one of the few newspapers to oppose the bill—has put it, any reform of the criminal code should "reinforce the liberty of the American people." But S. 1437, "since its inception in the Nixon administration in 1973 and during its various mutations, reflects the undemocratic view that the government requires protection from the citizens of this nation." Despite Watergate, the *Los Angeles Times* continued, this bill "has been drafted in a way suggesting that misuse of government authority created the need to increase the power of government. That judgment stands history on its head."

One section of S. 1437, entitled "Obstructing a Government Function by Physical Interference," dangerously diminishes protesters' rights of speech and assembly. The section's catchall language covers any physical interference or other obstacle intended to impair any federal government function in any way. If the bill clears the House, the American Civil Liberties Union points out, "Virtually every strike, picketing activity, or mass demonstration at or near a federal facility would arguably fall within" this new definition of a federal crime.

Section 1002, another provision of the bill, contains serpentine conspiracy laws that transform certain kinds of free speech and assembly activities into felonies. Let us suppose an environmental group meets to discuss blocking the construction of an interstate highway that the government is routing through a park. (As already noted, such obstruction would be a crime under S. 1437.) Under Section 1002, if you attend that meeting, you can be charged with criminal conspiracy *even if you never participate in the demonstration.*



NAT HENTOFF writes a regular monthly column on civil liberties issues for INQUIRY. His recent books include Does Anybody Give a Damn? *and* Jazz Is.

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ANOTHER SECTION WHITtles down the First Amendment rights of the press by allowing the government to hold reporters in criminal contempt for refusing to disclose confidential sources, even under an order that is subsequently held to be invalid. And a most valuable source of information for the press—"whistleblowing" government employees—is stifled by a provision of S. 1437 that permits the criminal prosecution of any federal worker who leaks "private" information about government misconduct to journalists.

In yet another whack at the First Amendment, Section 6035 of the bill makes it a felony to mail or import any "written or printed card, letter, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind giving information, directly or indirectly . . . where or by whom any act or operation of any kind for the procuring or producing of abortion will be done or performed." If it becomes illegal simply to disseminate information about abortion, other subjects scorned by future Congresses can be added to that list of the forbidden. Where in the First Amendment does it say "except for abortion"?

S. 1437 also includes, for the first time in federal law, a federal obscenity statute that locks into the criminal code all the pervasive confusions—and possibilities for prosecutorial entrapment—contained in the Supreme Court's 1973 *Miller* decision. Under the bill, a publisher or distributor can be prosecuted in any city or town that has more stringent obscenity criteria than the national norm. After enough such prosecutions, the ACLU notes, "The strictest local view of what 'appeals to the prurient interest' would effectively determine the content of nationally distributed books, magazines, newspapers, and films."

Put another way, if S. 1437 is enacted the federal criminal code will say that the First Amendment means one thing in New York, quite something else in Wichita, and who knows what in Memphis. Subject to "community standards" in matters of obscenity, the First Amendment shrinks to absurdity. But then, a goodly part of the Constitution would be altered by this bill.

Nor does S. 1437 stop with attacks on the First Amendment. As it extends federal power, the bill also overturns the most fundamental principle of American justice—the presumption of innocence. For the first time in the history of the republic, preventive detention will be legitimatized on a national scale. S. 1437 also codifies the compelling of testimony—no matter what the Fifth Amendment says. (This gutting of the right not to be a witness against oneself was first authorized in the 1970 Organized Crime Control Act.) Similarly, S. 1437 allows a confession to be admitted in evidence as "voluntary" even when it has been proved that the defendant was not advised of his constitutional rights against self-incrimination. By ratifying this regression from the *Miranda* decision—a regression that began with the 1968 crime control act—the bill is profoundly threatening to defendants' rights. As the ACLU says, "This provision removes much of the incentive for police officers to advise suspects of their rights prior to interrogation."

Kennedy's participation in all this was caused by a certain amount of ignorance and by a larger amount of political ambition.

Yet on January 30, 72 United States senators voted for this profoundly un-American bill. Only 15 senators opposed S. 1437. How did this grotesque transmogrification of constitutional rights sail through so easily?

A brief history is required. Because there were indeed inconsistencies in federal criminal law, in 1966 Congress created the National Commission on Reform of Criminal Law under the chairmanship of former Governor Edmund Brown of California. Five years later, the Brown Commission delivered a set of recommendations for a uniform new code. Richard Nixon took that report and handed it to a cadre of Justice Department lawyers supervised by John Mitchell and later, Richard Kleindienst.

The resultant Nixonian Criminal Code Reform Act of 1973 (S. 1400)—which had more than a few similarities to the criminal codes of Eastern Europe—was too much even for Congress. Meanwhile, Senators John McClellan and Roman Hruska came up with another version, S. 1, but that too was so crudely contemptuous of citizens' rights and liberties that it died in committee in 1976.

It was not until Jimmy Carter took office the following year that S. 1437 was born. Carter's Justice Department also showed strong interest in a new federal criminal code and supported the efforts in the Senate by Ted Kennedy and John McClellan to draw up "compromise" legislation. McClellan (who, after his death, was replaced as Kennedy's partner by Strom Thurmond) soothed the conservatives; Kennedy manipulated the liberals. Actually, few senators did more than browse through the huge new code. And most were satisfied, in any case, that a McClellan-Thurmond-Kennedy entente could be trusted not to let anything too "controversial" slip through. Furthermore, there was hardly any mail opposing the bill. The small percentage of the citizenry that cares about such things was lulled into silence by Kennedy's sponsorship of S. 1437 and believed, besides, that after S. 1, anything would be an improvement.

Kennedy's noxious participation in all this was caused by a certain amount of honest ignorance and by a larger amount of political ambition. While he has been a diligent legislator on certain liberal issues, Kennedy has never been known for his sensitivity to—or basic knowledge of—civil liberties. In that respect, he and McClellen-Thurmond are not such an odd couple after all. Kennedy also yearns for the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee, long held by the cavalier anticonstitutionalist, James Eastland. By joining with conservative leaders in shaping and then corralling support for the "moderate" S. 1437, Kennedy expected to pick up support from the good old boys when he tried for the chairmanship. (As this goes to press, Eastland has in fact announced his retirement; thus, it appears that Kennedy, with his new Confederate stripes, will get his wish.)

As the great majority of the Senate dozed through eight days of only intermittently substantive debate on the bill, one of the few impassioned attacks came from California Senator Alan Cranston. His main concern was that S. 1437 as a whole provides for an enormous expansion of federal power over crimes until now left to the states. Ac-

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cordingly, said Cranston just before the Senate vote, the Department of Justice will now be given "a monolithic prosecutorial and investigative jurisdiction capable of reaching virtually every nook and cranny of American life." And this will inexorably lead to a huge expansion of the FBI so that, for the first time in American history, we will be blessed with a national police force. Even J. Edgar Hoover was opposed to that amount of nationalized stealth.

Another senator who opposed the bill, Donald Riegle of Michigan, made the connection, which escaped most of his peers, between a national police force and the First Amendment right to criticize the government. "S. 1437," said Riegle, "strengthens the power of the federal government to investigate citizens who, for one reason or another, disagree with government policy."

One danger is that by greatly expanding the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice, S.1437 will lead to the establishment of a national police force.

Only the House remains to rescue the populace from this fearful document. (The House equivalent is H. 6869.) I have talked to a number of members of the House Judiciary Committee, and they are divided in their predictions of the bill's fate—but all agree S. 1437 will surely pass if it reaches the House floor, for the same reason Kennedy's bill floated through the Senate. Most representatives will not have read the act and most, in any case, hardly consider preservation of the Bill of Rights a matter of urgency. Indeed, if a bill were introduced in the House listing the first ten amendments to the Constitution—but not labeled as such—the resultant marked-up legislation, reflecting the consensus of that body, might well be horrendous to behold.

The strategy of House members opposing the bill, therefore, is delay. If the code does not get through the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, the Judiciary Committee, and the Rules Committee by late summer, it is not likely to get on the floor this year. Should enough representatives decide that the bill has to be substantially rewritten, it could linger in committee until the end of the current session.

ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN, A member of both the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice and the Judiciary Committee, is convinced that the new code *will* die in committee. Not because a majority of her colleagues on those committees are appalled, as she is, by its content, but because Ted Kennedy and Strom Thurmond allowed an extraordinarily sloppy piece of legislation to pass the Senate.

"The drafting problems in this bill are overwhelming," Holtzman told me, "and that's why it's going to take a long time. I'm not talking about substantive policy problems—like what the bill does to the First Amendment. I'm talking about the language, which is incredibly, dangerously imprecise. Take the reaction of the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice. The people have come at this from different perspectives." (Holtzman is the only liberal and civil libertarian on that subcommittee.)

"But they're all good, careful lawyers," she continues. "And as lawyers, they are profoundly troubled by this code. I don't think there is a single section we've read so far in which serious problems haven't been found. Like the one that prohibits soliciting or receiving campaign contributions in a federal building. The way it's written—if the federal government, a member of Congress, or an agency rents even one small office in a skyscraper, *everybody* in that building, whether or not they have any relationship to the federal government, commits a crime by receiving or soliciting a federal campaign contribution in that building. The bill is full of things like that. Oh, the careful drafting hands and eyes of the Senate legislative staff and the Senate Judiciary Committee! Well, this won't do in the House."

Other representatives against the bill believe that, badly drafted as S. 1437 is, the House leadership—under accelerating pressure from Ted Kennedy and the White House—will put the screws on the committees and get the new code on the floor in time for passage. If this happens, the squire of San Clemente will surely regret having been President too soon. ❏

EDUCATION

DIANE DIVOKY

Defecting to the private schools

ANYONE WHO READS THE papers is aware that the baby bust of the sixties and early seventies has meant a significant decline in enrollment for the public schools. What hasn't been so evident, until recently, is that the numbers of students the public schools are losing reflect not only the declining birth rate but also a small yet significant defection from public to private schools.

At the same time that public schools continue to lose students, private schools are enjoying what a recent study called a "decided upturn" in enrollment. When Cary Potter, president of the National Association of Independent Schools, announced a record high enrollment for the third year in a row among the 693 NAIS schools, he noted: "While it would be an exaggeration to characterize this trend as a 'boom,' it is significant in that it has continued in a period when the overall school-age population, reflecting sharply declining birth rates, has itself been in a decline, with the pool of school-age children reduced in the last several years by several million, and with public school enrollment going down as a result."

The NAIS represents the prestigious private day and boarding schools attended mainly by the children of the affluent; since those institutions make up only a small percentage of the nation's private schools, and not a terribly representative one at that, their growth might be written off as an isolated phenomenon. However, it's not just the wealthy who are turning to the private

DIANE DIVOKY is a contributing editor of INQUIRY. She is a staff writer for Learning *magazine and co-author of* The Myth of the Hyperactive Child.

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sector to educate their children. In 1975, according to the National Center for Educational Statistics, only 17.5 percent of the children in private elementary schools came from families with incomes of $15,000 or more, while 34.4 percent came from homes where the income was under $7500.

Catholic schools, which experienced a massive decline between 1965 and 1975, have begun to stabilize enrollment, and other church-affiliated schools are growing at a healthy pace. And as Donald Erickson, a researcher on private education at the University of San Francisco, reports, since 1968 the black share of private school enrollments has increased, both absolutely and proportionately. In 1975, black students represented 5.1 percent of the total private school enrollment in the United States, and between 1970 and 1975 the percentage of blacks in private elementary schools in the West almost doubled. It seems clear that upwardly mobile blacks in particular are gravitating increasingly from public to private schools.

The cardinal reason for the recent gains in private school enrollments, according to a study prepared by Erickson and his colleagues for the National Institute of Education, is disenchantment with the public schools. The disenchanted seem to come from all quarters. The most manifest disfavor, according to Erickson, is in the Deep South, Florida, and the Southwest, where parent alienation over such issues as drug abuse, loose discipline, sex education, controversial textbooks, and lack of academic rigor is greatest. But the revolt of the political fundamentalists is only the most conspicuous. Many of the liberals who spent the sixties fighting the good fight for public school reform, growing first frustrated and then cynical, are now slip-sliding away to the private sector.

BLACK GROUPS WHICH LONG championed the cause of the public school are perhaps the most startling defectors. At the recent Senate Finance Subcommittee hearings on the proposed Tuition Tax Credit Bill of 1977—the Packwood-Moynihan bill, which would provide tax credits for each child in a private elementary or secondary school—Victor Solomon, director of educational affairs of the Congress of Racial Equality, indicated the shift in mood:

> As black people generally have done, we have relied in the past on the public schools of this country to educate our children and enable our people to better their condition. . . . In contrast to some other organizations, we have consistently fought for community control of public schools, and we have mobilized to bring greater effectiveness in public school teaching. What have been the results of our struggles? . . . Instead of real community control [in New York City], we got what was called decentralization, which is a sham, a fraud. The citizen fighting for educational quality now has two bureaucracies to deal with, one on the district level and one at the central board. . . . The same problems exist in Detroit and other cities which have adopted decentralization schemes.

But worse than the fiasco of decentralization, Solomon believes, is the public schools' failure to teach basic skills to inner city children: "The capacities of our young people are being stifled as they fall one, two, three, or more years behind grade level in reading and math skills. . . . At the same time we see nearby parochial and private schools, often the neighborhood Catholic school, doing an adequate job, day in and day out, in the same areas as the failing public schools. Furthermore, these private schools are operating at far less cost than public schools."

Many liberals who fought for public school reform now favor tax credits.

The blacks point to plummeting reading scores, the conservatives to moral decay, the liberals to inhumane treatment of kids as the sin of the public schools that's driving them out. But behind the particular reasons there are some common concerns. Erickson suggests that in many places the ideal of the common public school—carefully attuned to the families and community it served—has been lost to "efficiency" and politics:

> School consolidations, the reorganization of small districts into larger ones, the growing power of organized professional educators, the growth of central school district bureaucracies, and the extensive intervention of the judicial and executive arms of state and national government, when combined with school constituencies which, especially in large city systems, are impossibly heterogeneous and disunified, may have created an institution that many parents finally recognize as governed "from afar," habitually irresponsive to the values of home and community . . . many parents now view public schools as incongruent with the values of the home—as places where teachers, administrators, school boards, far-off legislators, and distant judges insist on exposing the young to experiences that parents consider harmful.

The size and style of the public school operation, the sense that it has come to operate more for its employers and employees than for its clients, that there is neither passion nor person at its center: all of this contributes to the distress of parents who are trying to present their children with a meaningful world. In the last analysis, they want a school where the standard —whatever it is—is clear, and the staff feel responsible first and foremost to those they teach.

As confidence in the public school has dipped in the past few years, "accountability" has become one of its buzz words. But as Cary Potter points out, real accountability can only work in the free market of private schools, where failure to live up to expectation or to respond to needs in any large degree can have only one result: failure. The concept loses its clout in the situation where the parent, no matter how disenchanted with the local public school, has no option except to stay with it.

It seems that, where an alternative is available, a lot of parents are willing to take on the financial hardship of private school tuition in order to opt out of the public system. And the movement is broad-based enough so that civil rights advocates, elite prep school spokesmen, religious school sponsors, and radical educators are all asking for some kind of tax relief for those who choose the private route. "The rich and the upper middle class in America have always been able to vote with their feet, so to speak, on education," Victor Solomon said, in testifying on behalf of CORE. "If they don't like the public schools, they send their children to private schools and pay the tuition." It may be that the time is ripe for public policy to provide that voting power for middle class and poor people, too. ❑

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POLITICS

JIM MORRELL

Underwriting apartheid

ON NOVEMBER 9, 1976, THE UN General Assembly voted to request the International Monetary Fund, a specialized agency of the UN, to "refrain forthwith from extending credits to South Africa."

On November 10, 1976—one day later—the IMF approved a $186 million credit to South Africa. Together with previously approved loans, that brought the IMF's total credits to South Africa up to $464 million—more than to the rest of black Africa put together.

This sequence of events shows that whoever does set policy for the IMF, an international lending agency with resources of over $30 billion, it is certainly not the UN General Assembly. The official word is that the IMF makes its own policy, guided only by its Articles of Agreement, framed at the historic Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, international monetary conference of 1944. The articles say that the purpose of the IMF is to "promote monetary cooperation" in the world, prevent exchange restrictions, and provide member nations with temporary loans to help them overcome balance-of-payments difficulties. Which nations are to get these loans, and in what amounts, is said to be determined by the size of the member's original contribution to the IMF and by other exceedingly complex rules as interpreted by the Fund's executive board and staff. (The executive board is made up of directors from all the IMF's 132 member nations, with smaller nations sharing directors. The United States controls 23 percent of the vote, the largest share of any single nation.)

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The IMF's image, then, is that of an economic decision-making body working on the basis of financial data and mathematical formulas. Thus, if South Africa got more money than the rest of black Africa put together—indeed, more money than any other country in the world except Great Britain and Mexico—it was simply because the technicians at the Fund determined that South Africa had a larger quota and greater objective need than other nations. In any event, it was a purely technical, purely economic decision. Such is the explanation offered uniformly by the IMF, the U.S. Treasury Department, and South Africa itself.

HOWEVER, A READING OF the confidential minutes of the executive board's November 1976 meeting on aid to South Africa tells a quite different story. It reveals that the IMF, far from being bound in its decisions by purely technical criteria, seems to adjust its "facts" to serve its own purposes. At that meeting, the directors for West Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Malta accused the Fund's staff of rigging statistics to favor South Africa's case for aid. Lamberto Dini, the Italian executive director, found the staff's calculations "suspect" because their estimate of South Africa's expected export shortfall (the figure used to justify South Africa's case for aid) appeared to equal exactly the amount—50 percent of quota—requested by South Africa. Eckard Pieske of West Germany also found this coincidence remarkable and flatly stated that the projected shortfall had been "tailored to the size of the requested drawing." Despite this, the IMF executive board, including Pieske and Dini, approved South Africa's request. (Ironically, later events bore out the staff's projections.)

Rigging the statistics was only the most sensational issue raised during the IMF meetings on South Africa. At an earlier meeting on January 21, 1976, several of the directors discussed the question of South Africa's huge gold reserves and whether these reserves obviated the need for the Fund's balance-of-payments assistance. "South Africa had at its disposal one of the world's largest gold stocks," said Jacques de Groote, the director for Belgium, Austria, Luxembourg, and Turkey. With the recent increase in gold prices, he continued, a naive outsider might even expect South Africa to con-

NORMAND LOUSSEAU

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tribute to the IMF rather than seek its aid. Of course the naive outsider would not be aware that South Africa could not sell its gold at will for fear of disrupting the world gold market. But South Africa could still use its gold as collateral for other loans to cover its balance-of-payments deficit, he said. "It could be argued that the current account deficit expected in 1976 was not entirely beyond the control of the authorities," he concluded.

Antoine W. Yameogo of Upper Volta, speaking for 17 black African nations, also touched on this point. South Africa valued its gold reserves at the official price of $42 an ounce, he complained, while the market price was $130 an ounce. Valued at the market price, the reserves amounted to $2.7 billion, or the equivalent of about six months' imports. (Three months' cover is generally considered adequate.) South Africa could manage its short-term problem, he said.

While European and African delegates representing a total of 22 nations expressed various reservations, the IMF aid package to South Africa drew the unconditional support of the U.S. and British directors and passed easily. Thomas Leddy, the alternate U.S. director sent by the Ford administration (and still serving today) made a particular point of endorsing the South African request and found the staff's handling of the statistics to be entirely reasonable. The British director, Peter Bull, was even more enthusiastic in his support for IMF aid to South Africa, saying the aid would among other things give the South African authorities "some feeling of international support," which in his opinion they deserved.

AS A GRISLY FOOTNOTE TO these meetings, an April 1977 IMF economic study said that the budgeted increase in South Africa's military spending in 1976/1977 came to $450 million. The amount of the Fund's assistance was $464 million. (This assistance is fungible, and can be used for military or any other purposes.) Indeed, military spending was an important—if unacknowledged—factor in South Africa's original aid request. The major component of the South African government's overspending which, through an indirect process, led the government to request aid from the IMF, was a massive and continuing increase in the defense budget. From 1972 to 1975, defense expenditures rose by 97 percent in real terms. For 1976/1977 another real 25 percent increase in defense expenditure was budgeted. An April 1977 IMF study noted:

> In order to accommodate an increase of close to 40 percent in defense expenditure [in nominal terms] and to ensure at the same time that total government expenditure would not increase in real terms, other government expenditure was budgeted to rise in 1976/77 by only 6 percent in nominal terms and thus to decline substantially in real terms.

For the 1977/1978 budget, the IMF study reported another defense expenditure increase of 21.3 percent—to $1.9 billion—while nondefense expenditures again declined in real terms. "Defense expenditure has been a major cause of the rapid increase in total current expenditure," the IMF accordingly concluded in its confidential study, and in turn this rapid increase in government spending led to record budget deficits of 6.8 percent of gross national product in 1975 and over 7 percent of GNP in 1976.

These massive budget deficits fueled inflation in South Africa because the government was in effect printing money to pay for more weapons. From 1971 through 1975, the supply of money and near-money increased at an approximate rate of 20 percent a year. In turn, this inflation caused balance-of-payments problems as South Africa tried to peg its exchange rate and to maintain currency value through foreign borrowing, import taxes, and other restrictions on trade. Although the IMF study does not give a figure for South Africa's arms imports—understandably a very sensitive subject—the study does report "increases in expenditures on defense equipment" as a cause of balance-of-payments and terms-of-trade problems in 1976. Defense expenditures leading to budget deficits, budget deficits leading to inflation, inflation leading to balance-of-payments problems—this is the indirect path by which South Africa arrived at the IMF's door; in addition there was the direct increment to the balance-of-payments deficit caused by rising arms imports.

The IMF's favorable action on South Africa's requests took place during the Ford administration, when United States policy, under Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, emphasized the carrot rather than the stick in dealing with South Africa. In 1977 South Africa drew down a further $98 million under the terms of its standby arrangement, to bring the two-year grand total up to $464 million. Of the $98 million collected in 1977, $42 million was received in January under the Ford administration and $56 million in June as the Carter administration entered its fifth month.

What has been the policy of the Carter administration toward IMF loans to South Africa? Interviewed for this article, Undersecretary of the Treasury Anthony Solomon said he had not even been aware that South Africa was getting any money from the IMF in 1977. Since South Africa was only drawing upon a loan that had been previously approved, he was not informed. Yet Solomon was the Carter administration's chief spokesman for the new $1.7 billion U.S. contribution to the IMF passed by the House in February. Solomon declined to reveal the Carter administration's position on future South African aid requests. Still, although it would not state its own policy, the administration opposed any attempt by Congress to attach a human rights amendment to the IMF bill as an "attempt to introduce noneconomic factors into IMF decisions." The House passed the amendment anyway.

It is still too early to tell whether the human rights amendment on the bill will work. The amendment as passed leaves a great deal of discretion to the U.S. director on the IMF board, and in private discussions on Capitol Hill the current director, Sam Cross, and his alternate, Thomas Leddy, made it clear they are not interested in pursuing human rights through the IMF.

But it is not Congress that is injecting politics into IMF decisions; political factors are already present in IMF deliberations. For example, when Vietnam applied to the IMF last year for a $36 million loan, the United States was the only country to oppose it—but it couched its political objections in purely economic terms. Also, both Great Britain and the Scandinavian delegates formally abstained on two IMF loans to Chile in 1976 because of that country's dismal human rights record. The directors and staff of the IMF have developed a remarkably Aesopian language whose function is to disguise political decisions by using economic terms and to maintain the fiction of the institution's purely technical, purely economic character. In reality, nothing in the world is more political than money, and the IMF, one of the most aloof and untouchable institutions in Washington, is also one of the most political. ❑

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THE DIARY OF "W."

A personal account, written in secret, of the daily torments of those struggling for human rights in Poland

Translated and edited by TAD SZULC

WHAT IS THE DAY-TO-DAY LIFE OF DISSIDENT INTELLECTUALS IN Poland? What are their hopes and fears, the pressures under which they live and function? In relative terms, the Poles enjoy at this point the greatest degree of freedom in Eastern Europe. But what the regime gave in the latter part of 1977—the release of all political prisoners and a certain tolerance of opposition voices—it clearly can take away whenever it chooses. And even during the present thaw, dissidents are closely watched and often harassed. They cannot trust the future. Many writers are barred altogether from publishing books or articles in Poland. Others are subject to rigorous censorship, as are filmmakers and television producers.

Still, a rich intellectual life flourishes in the shadow of censorship and police vigilance. A half-dozen *samizdats—Information Bulletin, The Voice, Pulse, Opinia, The Fraternity, The Worker*—provide a running chronicle of events concerning the problems of freedom in Poland. Authors who are not allowed to publish their works openly arrange for them to circulate clandestinely, and they command an enthusiastic if limited readership. *Zapis*, an underground magazine, is the principal vehicle for such works, which include novels and poetry collections.

However, perhaps the best account of the daily existence of dissident intellectuals I found during a recent visit to Poland is a 233-page typewritten diary kept by a highly respected 65-year-old Warsaw

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writer. Lovingly retyped in dozens of copies by fellow intellectuals, this diary is passed from hand to hand to be read in the privacy of people's homes. I was able to bring back one such copy. The diary is unsigned, but most initiated readers suspect the author's identity as, presumably, do the authorities. I shall call him *W.* In the excerpts below, I have deleted the names of the author's friends and acquaintances—for their protection—and replaced them with arbitrary initials. The only real names appearing in the excerpts are those well-known within the dissident movement such as philosopher Adam Michnik and sociologist Jacek Kuroń, both in their early thirties.

Central figures in this account are Halina, a dissident actress and W.'s wife, and M., a young woman dissident and a relative, who lives with the W. family. The diary covers the period between April 16 and August 7, 1977, a time of extraordinary tension among the dissidents. Many of them, including Michnik and Kuroń, were imprisoned during this period, then released several months later when the regime decided to free all political prisoners. In a sense, this is the first comprehensive history of Poland's new dissident movement—most of it virtually unknown in the West. In a way, too, it is a tale of suspense: the day-to-day agony of uncertainty over the danger of sudden arrest, the fate of prisoners, the future of the dissident movement, the behavior of people under stress. The diary also reveals how deeply conditions in present-day Poland differ from those in the Soviet Union—for the Polish regime demonstrates a surprising responsiveness to domestic and world public opinion.

Here are the diary's excerpted entries:

I. Troubles with the police

Saturday, April 16. M. came home at seven o'clock in the morning. She spent the night at the militia station. The secret police had raided a social gathering of members and sympathizers of KOR at a private apartment. All were searched, then seven of them were arrested (including Jacek Kuroń, D. and R. . . . R. and S. were handcuffed because they were supposedly "rude." It is hard to imagine it. But in the history of Poland, the most noble of the young people have been more than once put in chains. [*KOR is the Polish acronym for the theoretically illegal–but quite active–Committee for the Defense of the Workers. Formed in September 1976 to support workers imprisoned during the food riots in Ursus and Radom, KOR publishes the mimeographed* Information Bulletin, *Poland's most complete* samizdat *publication.*]

M. tells us about it with indignation. The police failed to scare her. On the contrary! She is even more rebellious than before. Her pretty face shows justified anger. "The woman who interrogated us," she says, "had the face of an old whore, but she treated us courteously. Writing her report, she kept sighing, 'Oh, children, children . . . what a childish thing . . .' But the handcuffs were put on."

In the evening, we had dinner at the B.'s. . . . The evening flows pleasantly. B. says that things aren't so bad yet if we can go on meeting with friends and discuss things that interest us. . . . But we were depressed by the word brought by M. about the arrest of the leading KOR activists. We wonder whether they will be released within 48 hours, as has been the practice until now, or whether a new chapter has been opened in relations between the authorities and the opposition. [*Under Polish law, detained persons must be released within 48 hours unless formal charges are pressed against them.*]

Sunday, April 17. M. got home at 3:00 A.M. Again troubles with the police. A lecture by Professor Edward Lipiński on economic reform was to be held at the apartment of a KOR sympathizer. Some 30 persons were there. As soon as the professor began to speak, a whole passel of secret policemen burst into the apartment. Again, all those present were searched, but after being detained for a few hours, they were released, except for T. K., a well-known activist in the democratic opposition, who "talked back" (he was detained for the full 48 hours).

I was very disturbed about this second raid. They aren't kidding anymore. . . . "Listen," I say to M., "you can see what's happening. You can't be exposed like this . . . They'll expel you from the university." M. looks me straight in the eye: "And do you see an alternative?" She is right: I don't see any alternative. I cannot advise her to quit like a coward, to betray those wonderful, brave boys who consciously gave up careers as nuclear physicists, engineers, and scientists to fight under the most difficult conditions for the rule of law and human dignity. Some people say that this is a hopeless struggle, condemned beforehand to be lost. They may be right. It is difficult for individuals to win the battle against a modern, well-organized state. But sometime in the future, when scholars document the evil of our time, it will be known that someone, at least, tried to oppose. And even that future rehabilitation isn't entirely certain. Because victory alone isn't enough for the apparatus. It must blacken and morally destroy the opponent.

W. recounts the publication in a Warsaw newspaper of charges that KOR leaders Adam Michnik and Leszek Kołakowski were collaborating with the extreme right-wing West German newspaper, Soldaten Zeitung. *The charges were denied in West Germany, and a Polish court ordered the Warsaw newspaper to print a retraction, but according to W., the retraction was handled in such a fashion as to make matters worse.*

Yes: We know now how the game is played. This is why I cannot lead M. away from the road she has chosen. We

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I go for a long walk in the woods with L. He expresses regret that such times lack full literary documentation. He asks whether writers keep diaries. I think with trepidation about my hurried notes. Will I be able to protect them from the police? Will they be considered as honest testimony on our times?

spend the whole day on the telephone in a high state of nerves. We wait for news of the seven men under detention. But before the 48 hours are up, they are released, one by one. Jacek Kuroń is the last. We are happy. This is our greatest happiness these days.

In the evening, a long conversation with M. All these arrests and harassments unquestionably have one positive result: they cement the ties among KOR's young followers. I see it around M. These young people become closer and closer. They have a growing sense of solidarity. They are inclined toward mutual sacrifice. They love their leaders and trust them without reservation. They are grateful to them for being helped to find a goal in life, one they consider correct and fair. They believe that, sooner or later, they will reach it. They are wide awake, alert, and courageous. They carry copies of the penal code in their pockets, they read forbidden books, and they want to learn as much as possible about the world. . . . M. says: "I thought I would be scared, because I didn't understand these things. But, no. I was watching it as if it were theater; during interrogations I was calm and collected. I was only afraid that I might say something foolish." She tells us that the secret policemen guarding her were referring to the seven detainees as "these Jews," although among them there wasn't a single person of Jewish descent. I explain to her that the police must have decided that only Jews can defy them.

II. An ear in every wall

Tuesday, April 19. I see clearly the nightmare of our situation. Our home is broken, hurt. Halina is unhappy, burdened in her conscience with the responsibility for all the grief that has befallen our family. M. is subject to police harassment, threatened with expulsion from her studies; I am practically placed at the margin of my profession. Grandmother, who grows more and more helpless, is saddened by our secret troubles. And there is the constant surveillance of our home and of each of us individually. A huge ear in every wall and in every telephone instrument. I was gritting my teeth in anger when S. said at dinner last night that the reason our opposition is treated so liberally is because Poland was chosen as the only country in the Socialist bloc with which to legitimize it in Belgrade. Apparently the French press has advanced this theory. I don't wish for any French editor to know the kind of liberalism we have been given in the last seven months. . . .

J., who is close to KOR, believes that KOR's exceptional situation stems from its being protected from two sides: the ever-rising worldwide movement in defense of human rights, and the Polish working class, which is not yet entirely conscious and organized for protest in the defense of KOR, but in some cases, as demonstrated by recent experience, is capable of unexpected explosions, of which the authorities are afraid. [*The Polish regime has faced three major instances of worker riots triggered by resentment over the state of the economy. The first occurred in October 1956, when workers in Poznań fought the militia in the streets, with the rebellion spreading to Warsaw and elsewhere. This precipitated the first major postwar crisis in Poland and led to Władysław Gomułka's rise to the top position in the Communist Party. In 1970, workers in Gdańsk rose against the Gomułka regime in a food price dispute, and Gomułka was, in effect, overthrown by the Politboro. The new party chief, Edward Gierek, faced a similar situation in June 1976, when a 70 percent rise in food prices resulted in serious rioting. Gierek, however, quickly rescinded the increase and succeeded in defusing the workers' anger.*]

W. deplores at length that KOR was frozen out of a new dissident organization, known as the Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and Citizen (ROPCIO), which KOR regards as rightist and nationalistic. Earlier, the two groups had planned to merge, but W. now sees ROPCIO as a "Trojan Horse" within the dissident movement.

Wednesday, April 20. I go for a long walk in the woods with L. He expresses regret that such important times lack full literary documentation. He asks me whether writers keep diaries. I think with trepidation about my hurried notes. Will I be able to protect them from the police? Will they be considered someday as honest testimony on our times? At home, I listen to news and commentary on foreign radio stations. They report a great deal about KOR activities and recent arrests. The review of the Western press is entirely devoted to these matters. In articles in British and American publications, expressions like KOR and "democratic opposition in Poland" sound serious, strong, almost historic. Listening to these expressions, I see Halina's painfully tense face, the defiant smile of M., the veins in Jacek Kuroń's temples . . . I love them all, I'm proud of them, and at the same time, I'm dying of concern over their future fate.

Thursday, April 21. Grandmother cannot understand why "we got involved in this." She thinks (as do the authorities) that Halina should appear on the stage, and not be in politics. It hurts her that her talented daughter is not allowed to appear on radio and television, that her name cannot be mentioned in the press. But she ostentatiously displays solidarity with Halina. . . . Grandmother clearly imagines that KOR is fighting Gierek for power in Poland. In vain, we try to explain that the question is simply that existing laws be observed in Poland. . . . T. S. is upset that he still has no permission to publish his book. K. consoles him: "Wait, they'll surely publish it." T. S. answers sadly, "At my age there is not time left for waiting." He has completed 72

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years.

Friday, April 22. I receive my mail . . . a large white envelope, inside the photocopy of a pornographic drawing aimed at KOR, and especially at Halina. This is another method of "ideological struggle" with the opposition.

Saturday, April 23. We received the sad news of the arrest in Radom yesterday of C. M. and the beautiful and brave I. R. They were detained as they were leaving the bus . . . It was to keep them from meeting Radom workers released from prison (as a result of a "little" amnesty decreed by Gierek several days ago, 14 workers were released; seven remain in prison, including one on a hunger strike). Arrests of KOR members and collaborators are becoming so frequent that public opinion is ready to accept them as "normal."

III. New arrests

Sunday, April 24. Foreign radios carry a Reuters report from Warsaw about the arrests yesterday . . . of five KOR members: Jacek Kuroń, Piotr Naimski, Jan Józef Lipski, Antoni Macierewicz. . . . The meeting, according to Reuters, was called to draft "a document." It probably had to do with the work in recent days on a declaration on the broadening of KOR activities. . . . For the first time in the history of KOR, its legal adviser was arrested—Jan Olszewski, one of the most distinguished defenders in the workers' trials. . . . C. M. and I. R. were released in Radom. C. M. was driven to Góra Kalwaria and had to walk back quite a distance.

M. came to see me with her latest KOR admirer, H. . . . I listen to their conversation and I get more and more nervous. They talk about the summons to the prosecutor's office, the searches and the arrests, as if it were great fun. To me, they are the most basic things in life, because the peace of our home and our future lives depend on it.

Monday, April 25. Writers are capable of brave protests in concrete situations, but they are not suitable political activists, especially during difficult periods. The reluctance of the intellectuals will surely be a blow to KOR, but in the present situation former attitudes can no longer be maintained. Something else has to be invented. Time has come for desperate acts: hunger strikes and suicides. Am I capable of desperate acts?

Tuesday, April 26. Reuters reported from Warsaw that the five KOR members have been released. . . . Jacek Kuroń provided foreign correspondents with a detailed description of their arrest and release. They were let go just before the 48 hours were up. No reason for the arrest was given and there was no interrogation. But they were fingerprinted.

We were given the news that Czytelnik [*the state publishing house*] issued a categorical prohibition against the publishing of books by writers whose works appear in the illegal periodical *Zapis*. The prohibition can be lifted only if the writer produces a *chef d'oeuvre* (the Culture Section of the Party Central Committee will, of course, decide what constitutes a *chef d'oeuvre*). But there are two writers to whom this exception cannot be applied: Jerzy Andrzejewski and Kazimierz Brandys.

Wednesday, April 27. Bad news. Jacek Kuroń and Jan Józef Lipski were called to the prosecutor's office on suspicion of committing a crime under Article 132 of the Penal Code (activities damaging to the Polish state in cooperation with hostile foreign centers).

Thursday, April 28. Halina called to say that she had been arrested on her way to Radom, to prevent her from attending a trial. She was released after seven hours.

Friday, April 29. Halina tells me about the great unrest among KOR's young people as a result of recent arrests. Because all the private homes are bugged, they have decided to meet only in coffeehouses. The first meeting was upstairs at the popular Nowy Świat café. The next day, the café was closed down. On the door, a sign: "Renovation."

W. complains that he has received no word from his publisher as to whether his latest book was accepted, although the contractual period had elapsed. He thinks that under the contract he is entitled to the second half of his royalties. A friend tells him that publishing houses have worked out a compromise regarding writers on the forbidden list. Rather than say publicly that a book has been rejected, they simply pay the royalties in silence.

Sunday, May 1. Adam Michnik [*one of the top KOR leaders who had spent three months in France*] was let through customs at the airport with no problems. He was greeted by many people. The terminal was full of security agents . . . All the greeters were photographed.

Wednesday, May 4. Meeting of the steering committee of the PEN Club [*an international association of writers*]. We discuss the question of participation at the conference of the PEN Clubs' world executive body in Hamburg. . . . It is known that the Polish PEN Club-in-exile will push for a protest against the imprisonment of the famous Czech writer Havel and the persecution of writers who signed the "Charter 77" manifesto. The question is what position our delegates will take. . . . In the end, we voted unanimously that our delegates are to give full support to the protest. . . . Halina is happy with the morning at St. Anna's Church. The Cardinal [*Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński*] gave it the character of a powerful political demonstration. He said in his sermon that when cultural pluralism is endangered, the Church opens its doors wide to culture and wishes to be its safe haven.

In the evening, Adam Michnik paid us his first visit. He came back from interrogation at the prosecutor's office, but he is of good cheer. . . . His book will appear abroad in Polish and French.

Thursday, May 5. Again, a violent attack on Michnik and Leszek Kołakowski in *Życie Warszawy* [*a Warsaw daily*] . . . The use of chauvinism in the battle against liberals . . . .

Saturday, May 7. Again, depression. Again, I lose control over my nerves. I was unable to find Radio Free Europe at the usual hour, and immediately, despair. . . . It scared me to realize how important a role in my life is played by this voice across the iron curtain of our propaganda. . . . What is developing around me looks the worst possible and inspires the most justified fears. It looks like Kuroń, Michnik, and Lipski will be formally charged.

Monday, May 9. Holiday. Anniversary of the end of World War II, the anniversary of the final capitulation of fascism. Who among us, who in those days drank in the joy of the just victory, could have thought that this is the way it would look in practice. . . . I am filled with painful thoughts. I have no more strength for this empty, hopeless life, which from all sides and in every way is watched by the police. I worry about Halina and M. I am sad that my last two books will not be published; I am sad that these awkward notes of mine will not reach the reader although they contain, I believe, crumbs of truth about our times.

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IV. A student is killed

Tuesday, May 10. Halina and Adam Michnik arrived . . . The conversation with Adam, which I had anticipated with such pleasure, saddened me. From all that he said, it seems that serious differences are emerging among the principal KOR leaders. Kuroń is pushing ahead and gives an increasingly political character to KOR activities. These young people are brave to the limit, give everything of themselves, work inhumanly, do not allow themselves a breathing pause. But in exchange, they demand unquestioned attention, they are authoritative, they are too rushed in some judgments, they impose their opinions on others, they accept no compromise, and if reality doesn't wholly meet their expectations, they are inclined to twist it to their views. . . . Michnik, who sees everything in a broader perspective and doesn't accept any deviation from democratic methods of action, is saddened and frightened by the situation he found here. He admires Kuroń for his wisdom, energy, superb initiative and imagination, courage and devotion, but notices his faults and doesn't hesitate to criticize them sharply. . . . But the worst thing I learned from Halina and Adam just before they left. In Kraków, Jagieloński University student Stanisław Pyjas, who cooperated with KOR, was killed in circumstances that give the impression that it was a major provocation organized against KOR.

The Pyjas death remains a mystery. W. writes that the student, an ardent KOR activist, was one of the organizers of a cultural protest campaign for which he had been collecting signatures among fellow students. The protest letter was delivered to the Polish Sejm *(parliament) by W., who notes in his diary that Pyjas, accused of serving as a security police agent, had been receiving anonymous death threats. Pyjas and other students receiving similar threats, W. writes, complained to the local prosecutor's office two weeks before he died and passed the information on to the editors of KOR's* Information Bulletin. *Pyjas was found dead, his skull smashed, in the entrance hall of a midtown Kraków building.*

Wednesday, May 11. Sitting in the park in the sun, I noticed for the first time how Halina has aged in recent months. She had a silver head, now her hair has turned completely white. Her face is thin and wan. Despite her attempts at good humor, I feel that she is tense to the limit and deeply sad. With pain, I think that never again shall I hear her joyous laughter that I so loved, and that I shall never again see her on the stage in a superb new part. For a moment, I'm lost in doubt: Hasn't it been too great a sacrifice? Is the game worth such high stakes? But at once I remember what Halina told me a year ago, when she decided to sign the "Letter of 59" concerning the Constitution. She said: "If one already knows how things are, one cannot go on living as if one knew nothing." I agreed with her then. Today, after a year, I'm even more convinced of it.

W. believes that the regime seeks popular support through the encouragement of chauvinism and antisemitism among younger people. He devotes several pages of his diary to a discussion of a regime-supported group of filmmakers, theatrical producers, and actors who built a considerable following through an emphasis on nationalism and antisemitism.

Thursday, May 12. All night I had dreams about the murdered Kraków student. I thought there would be something in the newspapers, but not a word. Small wonder that Poles, regardless of their convictions, so ardently listen to

Sitting in the park in the sun, I noticed for the first time how Halina has aged in recent months. With pain, I think that never again shall I hear her joyous laughter and that I shall never again see her on the stage in a superb new part. For a moment, I'm lost in doubt: hasn't it been too great a sacrifice?

Radio Free Europe. Already Tuesday night it had many details about Pyjas's death, given foreign correspondents by Kuroń. . . . Our press and radio, except for a brief note in a Kraków newspaper, are silent. . . .

W. writes that in the opinion of his friends, the official press remained silent about Pyjas–failing to set in motion a "provocation"–because of the speed of public reaction by KOR. He notes that the official Party daily carried a story that day about a mysterious political murder in a village in El Salvador, in Central America, but not a word about Kraków.

Saturday, May 14. Halina, in her capacity of KOR delegate, is going to Kraków, where a mass will be held on Sunday in memory of the student Pyjas. She was chosen because she is well known in Kraków. I'm worried. From time to time, she receives from Kraków a telegram with the single sentence: "I hate you." I learn more details about the Kraków tragedy. Pyjas was one of the best students in his class. But harassment started from the moment he joined KOR. They took away his scholarship. They removed him from his instructor's post at a local high school. His father was called in by the authorities and asked to persuade the young man to sever his ties with KOR.

Sunday, May 15. Halina, Michnik, and Anka Kowalski, en route by car to Kraków for the Pyjas mass, were stopped right outside of Warsaw. They decided to go by a train that was leaving at 2:30 A.M. But the militia took them off the train along with other KOR delegates. Twelve persons were arrested. All were released, though Michnik was held the longest.

V. The Pyjas funeral

Monday, May 16. The news about Michnik's and Kuroń's release is false. All the most active KOR members are

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still under arrest. . . . Each was brought back by car by militiamen armed with rifles . . . Those who broke through the police blockade told with admiration about the demonstrations in Kraków. Thousands of students demonstrated their solidarity with their colleague who fell in the battle for justice and the law. Thousands carrying black mourning flags and lit candles marched with complete dignity from the building where Pyjas's body was found to the Wawel mountain. . . . The authorities must have been frightened for the first time since June 25, 1976 [*the food riots*] because they fear youth almost as much as they fear workers . . . . The official press published a Polish Press Agency communiqué describing Pyjas's death as an unfortunate accident caused by excess of alcohol and perhaps even drugs . . . . Halina has confirmed that telephone communications between Warsaw and Kraków were blocked for 24 hours. The first word of arrests in Kraków reached us via Poznań and Lublin . . . .

All evening and the following morning KOR meetings are held at our home. In view of the arrest of KOR's operational leadership, a proposal is made to form a temporary "auxiliary committee" . . . but I'm against it. [*W. explains that for the first time such a committee would have included leaders of the Jewish faith, which would have played into the hands of the authorities who, from the outset, have tried to convince the country that KOR is secretly directed by "Jews."*]

It's repulsive that in order to fight the excesses of the foe, it is sometimes necessary, for tactical reasons, to apply the foe's methods. But I remember well this strange sense of unease . . . I detected in the faces of decent and progressive people whenever too many "Jewish" names appeared in KOR bulletins. Instilled in the society, the poison of antisemitism affects even the most resistant ones . . .

Thursday, May 19. Jacek Kuroń and Adam Michnik are still imprisoned along with four other KOR members, and there are no hopes for their prompt release . . . KOR has been drained of its most precious blood. It is weaker and weaker, and the new developments present it with increasingly hard tasks. . . . I shudder to think about the fate of Halina and M. They will not retreat even from desperate acts. Grandmother says that "women in our family never capitulate." . . . P. brings me a letter demanding the release of the imprisoned leaders. It's an appeal to intellectuals in the West and it's written with noble simplicity. But I attach no great hopes to it . . . Thus far it has been signed by only 11 persons . . . along with me. We do not count on many additional signatures because there's nobody around to collect them.

Friday, May 20. Word over the telephone of the arrest of literary historian Jan Józef Lipski, a KOR member, and his son and daughter. It probably has to do with cutting off Lipski (who replaced Kuroń, after his arrest, as KOR spokesman) from contact with foreign newsmen. . . . Cardinal Wyszyński, in a sermon at St. Anna's Church, appealed to the authorities of the Polish People's Republic to "revise the present system of governing and halt their practices against citizens."

In an editorial, Trybuna Ludu, *the Party newspaper, accuses KOR of "provocation" during the Pyjas funeral in Kraków. This is the first time the Party takes a public stand in the Pyjas affair.*

Saturday, May 21. New arrests . . . Among them M. Halina tells me not to worry because she will surely be released within 48 hours, just as Lipski's children have been freed. . . . All the foreign radio stations are broadcasting the text of our latest letter, "The Appeal of 17."

Sunday, May 22. M. was released this morning . . . She was lucky she wasn't charged with resisting the authorities: she fought so hard it took four militiamen to carry her out; she shouted and sang revolutionary songs. . . . Halina is very busy lately. Despite the loss of nearly its entire leadership, KOR must go on functioning. She tells me with admiration how many wonderful new people are volunteering to take the place of the imprisoned members.

Monday, May 23. First encouraging news from abroad. Two large Italian labor organizations, representing over a million workers, intervened with the Polish trade union leadership concerning the imprisoned dissidents, naming Michnik in particular. Leaders of Italian political parties also appealed to the Polish Foreign Ministry. It is especially important that in every case the leftist character of the activities of the imprisoned oppositionists has been underlined. This gives the lie to the charges by our official propaganda.

VI. A hunger strike

Thursday, May 26. Ten persons began a hunger strike in the chapel of St. Martin's Church in the Old Town. It's a protest against the continuing imprisonment of workers from Radom and Ursus, and the arrests of KOR members.

W. notes that Michnik's father, a prewar Communist, is among those on the hunger strike. He says that 80 persons attempted to go on strike, but they were kept out of the church by the security services. W. also complains that most actors are refusing to sign protest letters on the grounds that if they are dismissed in reprisal, it will become impossible to produce "valuable" films and plays. He says that refusal to sign is tantamount to silent approval of the arrests.

Friday, May 27. *Trybuna Ludu* and *Życie Warszawy* publish attacks against the protest hunger strike at St. Martin's Church. . . . In both newspapers the strike is described as a provocation by a narrow group of renegades . . . attempting to disturb good relations between the state and the Church.

Saturday, May 28. The newspapers are literally filled with materials against the democratic opposition, and especially against Adam Michnik. . . . Not a word anymore about the church hunger strike. . . . Four more persons joined the hunger strike, including the famous poet from Poznań, Stanisław Barańczak, and Joanna Szczesna, co-editor of the KOR *Information Bulletin*. . . . Thousands of persons silently walk through the church. In front of the grille of the presbytery, where the strikers are, piles of flowers.

Monday, May 30. Two more persons join the church hunger strike. . . . Czytelnik publishing house rejected as censorable the new novel by Tadeusz Konwicki. Another outstanding Polish author will be forced to publish abroad.

Wednesday, June 1. The authorities have not replied to the appeal of the PEN Club and the Association of Polish Writers, demanding the release of KOR member Jan Józef Lipski, who has a serious heart condition. . . . The hunger strike at St. Martin's Church ended last night. It created a lot of noise in the world, but at home it led only to the unleashing of a savage propaganda campaign against KOR.

Saturday, June 4. A year ago, I would have been completely unsettled by the violence of the press attacks against those close to me and against me. Now, I'm not troubled much. I know that the authorities cannot do much more, that their repressive possibilities are limited. The vio-

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lence of the attacks underscores the strength of the opposition. It is known with certainty that the democratic movement cannot be suffocated, that something permanent has been started, and that, in the end, it must lead to victory, even if I and my beloved may fall in this battle.

Sunday, June 5. Catholic leaders got scared of the propaganda storm unleashed around the hunger strike at St. Martin's Church, and they won't hear about the continuation of such acts. Meanwhile, KOR youth pushes for new hunger strikes . . . The young people want rapid, violent moves, great, noisy demonstrations. Anyone who tries to hold them back is considered a "coward" or a "sclerotic" . . . Such an approach to the situation is, in the present situation, exceedingly damaging and dangerous. Only Jacek Kuroń, thanks to his authority and political wisdom, has been able in some fashion to reconcile the impatient radicalism of the youth with the occasionally overcautious attitude of KOR "old men." . . . Now that Jacek and his closest collaborators are in prison, the wildness of the young and the caution of the older ones exist side by side and oppose each other at every opportunity.

W. recounts that G., a close friend with KOR links, has been fired from his artistic director post at a theater in Łódź. The head of the theater, W. says, had tried to protect him, but in the end, he was scared by the "explosion" of anti-KOR propaganda and gave in to official pressure.

VII. Support from abroad

Tuesday, June 7. Nearly 140 outstanding American personalities, including three Nobel Prize laureates, addressed the Polish government, demanding the release of imprisoned KOR members and followers. . . . This is the first good news in a long time. I was particularly pleased that among the signers of the appeal were my favorite artists: the actress Liv Ullmann and the writer Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

Wednesday, June 8. This morning on the radio, the declaration by President Carter concerning the violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and other countries of the Moscow bloc. KOR and ROPCIO were mentioned by name. A severe, concrete declaration—very useful for us.

The diarist describes the meeting of the steering committee of the PEN Club during which a demand for the release of KOR member Jan Józef Lipski, suffering from serious heart disease, was again discussed. The office of the prosecutor-general had ignored the PEN Club appeal, so it was decided to send it to the Council of Ministers. The PEN Club was informed by the prosecutor-general that its request several months ago for the return of the confiscated diary of J. K. could not be met because the four-volume diary had been burned. The cited reason was that J. K. had not formally applied for it to be preserved—W. says he had—and that there was no basis to protect the diary as a national document. The prosecutor said the contents did not indicate that J. K. had sought to develop for purposes of national culture the "contemporary life of the Socialist society." The PEN Club considered this a dangerous precedent and appealed to the Supreme Court for a binding ruling as to how such works should be judged in the future.

Friday, June 10. Wednesday morning, after many interventions at home and abroad, KOR member Lipski was released from prison because of ill health. . . . Shortly before the release, our priceless "entertainment section" of the Interior Ministry . . . spread rumors that Lipski had died in prison . . . The authors of the rumors probably hoped that the story would reach the foreign press and radio so it could subsequently be denounced as "another lie of the opposition."

M. was again detained for a few hours. She was taken off the train when she was returning from Poznań and a visit to the poet Barańczak. Gradually, my "ward-daughter" is turning into an experienced "criminal." She is superbly familiar with the criminal law and interrogation procedures. It pleases me that M., despite her current lifestyle, no longer tries to look like a nineteenth-century Russian anarchist. She dresses excellently, looks beautiful, and is surrounded by a cloud of admirers. It's worse with her preparations for the exams. She says she has no time.

W. again complains about the strange activities of ROPCIO, the rival dissident movement suspected by KOR of ties with the regime. He notes that at a news conference for foreign correspondents ROPCIO announced that it cooperates intimately with KOR. Halina, the diarist's wife and KOR spokeswoman, denied this was so, stating that close cooperation is out of the question because KOR knows too little about ROPCIO's activities. Earlier, W. expressed his amazement that ROPCIO never publicly protested the arrest of KOR members, that none of its members have ever been detained, and that none of ROPCIO's mimeograph machines have been seized by the police—unlike KOR's equipment. W. writes that KOR functions openly and limits itself for the time being to the defense of legality, while ROPCIO has a "vague nationalist-independist concept" and attempts to form something like a secret military organization. However, the police, according to W., strive to portray KOR as a terrorist organization. Therefore, W. writes, KOR has to defend itself from being identified with ROPCIO.

Saturday, June 11. Halina had a long conversation with Jan Józef Lipski . . . He said that as a result of the struggle for the defense of human rights, conditions in prison have improved markedly. Criminal prisoners appreciate it, and they treat KOR leaders with the highest respect.

Demands for Adam Michnik's release continue. A letter requesting his release was signed a few days ago by three well-known Soviet dissidents in exile in Paris: Vladimir Bukovsky, the poet Gorbanevska and the writer Vladimir Maximov, the managing editor of *Kontinent* of Paris. . . . Yesterday the Polish embassy in Paris was visited on this subject by six outstanding representatives of the French left.

Monday, June 13. Our economic situation [*in Poland*] is increasingly desperate . . . On the other hand, there seems to be a slight lessening of pressures against the opposition. Some people even expect a prompt release of imprisoned KOR members. . . .

Conversation with C., an editor. As one of the most privileged citizens of the Polish People's Republic, he is sincerely and deeply frightened by the approaching economic catastrophe. This is how he explains the hesitant attitude of the authorities toward the opposition. . . .

I read the collection of B. D.'s essays that was rejected by censorship. In one of them, B. D. explains the mechanism of change in groups governing Poland. First, there are grandiloquent promises of the rulers and short-lived trust of the governed, then gradual drawing away of the authorities from the society through suffocation of criticism and confidence vested only in flatterers. . . . R. R. went on a cruise on the Gdynia-Copenhagen-Rotterdam-London-Gdynia route. Forty passengers defected: 10 in Copenhagen, 10 in Rotterdam, 20 in London. What surprised him the most was that the ship's captain was not particularly disturbed. These are no longer the times, not so long ago, when there was alarm over every defection. We've acquired style in this matter.

Wednesday, June 15. The preliminary session of the Belgrade conference opens today . . . The present situation doesn't inspire optimism. In the Soviet Union, *the principal*

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dissident leaders are under lock and key. Shcharansky has been charged with treason. American correspondents in Moscow are interrogated by the secret police under the suspicion of maintaining contacts with Soviet defenders of human rights. . . . In Poland, the chief leaders of the democratic opposition are in prison, the tone of propaganda is aggressive and unforgiving . . . Against this backdrop, President Carter, with his unbreakable determination to defend human rights, looks more and more like Don Quixote . . .

VIII. Halina takes new risks

Friday, June 17. Veritable political rallies are held in the evening at our home. From all corners, there come KOR collaborators and sympathizers: actors and scientists, priests and atheists, young people and old men. It goes on until late at night. In the morning, correspondents of foreign news agencies telephone us, and Halina passes on to them frequently and carefully checked information about new events and new KOR activities. I'm afraid the police will not tolerate it for very long. Despite the imprisonment of its leadership, KOR has not lost momentum. From Wrocław, there came a new appeal by 32 scientists (mainly mathematicians) demanding the release of KOR members. At the Gdańsk Academy, three engineering students went on a protest hunger strike . . . KOR has already sent out 10 communiqués and the tenth issue of the *Information Bulletin*. . . .

F. tells us about the hopeless situation in the film industry. He has been prevented from producing a picture he had been preparing for years. It was going to be the third great film on the lives of Silesian miners. . . . In family conversations, M. surprises me with an exceptionally rude expression. "Where did you learn such expressions?" I ask. She replies: "Where? Obviously in the slammer . . ."

Saturday, June 18. I went for a walk with Professor F. He tells me about the rot in the scientific environment. In his opinion, the professorial world has never been as prostituted and corrupted as now. That's why the cleansing activity of KOR is necessary. . . . Halina comes in. Lots of news. Two protest letters: from Kraków and from Warsaw; over 400 signatures. In Kraków, the activities are cranked up by the Student Solidarity Committee. The hunger strike in Gdańsk is developing in a good atmosphere. University doctors look after the strikers . . . They issued an exalted declaration, in which KOR is described as the "personification of the highest morality."

Tuesday, June 21. The first day of summer . . . Yesterday M. passed her first exam with an "A." We are pleasantly surprised. But there are seven exams. Foreign radio stations broadcast information about new collective appeals, demanding the release of KOR members. Particularly touching is the letter signed by 340 inhabitants of the Zbroża Duża, near Grojec (the signatures were collected by the local parish priest), where several years ago the militia razed the chapel built "voluntarily" by the population. Then there is an appeal from Warsaw signed by 450 persons: scientists, actors, students. Foreign correspondents reporting this information quote as their source the spokeswoman of KOR. I listen to it with my heart fluttering. I am proud of Halina, but at the same time I'm afraid that the police will not forgive her. She's doing exactly the same thing for which the others are in prison. The moment will come when the difference between the "arrestable" and the "non-arrestable" will be blurred—and they will detain my wife. . . .

Wednesday, June 22. Our telephone has been "blocked." Small wonder. For the last two days, Radio Free Europe continuously spoke of Halina as the chief spokeswoman for KOR. The police, therefore, are applying the same methods as were applied before to Kuroń to cut him off from foreign correspondents. . . .

In the last year, Halina has been praying ardently. Her family has always been deeply religious, but they demonstrated their relation to God rather discreetly—more in French fashion than in Polish . . . M. moved quickly from ardent religious practices to equally ardent political practices . . . Halina, however, as a result of her activities in KOR, seems to have returned to youthful ardent religiosity. She faithfully attends various masses, constantly orders masses for different purposes, bargains with God over the destiny of her beloved, and recently made solemn vows that if KOR members are released from prison, she will make a pilgrimage on foot to Częstochowa [*the shrine of Virgin Mary of Poland*].

Thursday, June 23. In Kraków the militia conducted a search the day before yesterday at the home of two members of the Student Solidarity Committee [*formed in Kraków at the time of the Pyjas funeral*]. The militiamen took away a lot of KOR and Solidarity Committee materials as well as a typewriter (in all, 28 typewriters of the opposition have been seized). The heaviest loss was a letter to [*Edward*] Gierek, requesting the release of KOR members and signed by 500 Kraków personalities. . . . Halina says that KOR people are angry at Italian "Eurocommunists" for not replying to letters [*asking them to appeal for freedom of the imprisoned leaders*]. She says bitterly: "Here you have Kuroń's beloved Eurocommunists. When it comes to the crunch, they are entirely on Moscow's string."

But *chapeaux bas* before the Dutch. They sent a marvelous

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letter of solidarity with KOR, signed by the most important names among leftist intellectuals. . . . We condemned the Italian "Eurocommunists" prematurely. The biggest Italian labor federation controlled by the Communists sent a wire to Dr. Henryk Jabłoński, the Polish chief of state, demanding the release from prison of five workers who participated in the June events last year and of nine members and collaborators of KOR.

Friday, June 24. M. received a letter from prison from K. An excerpt: "Perhaps the trouble is that we think we have a right to happiness, and when it is different in practice, it becomes a disaster. It is better to treat life as an obligation given by God . . . I'm worried about only one thing: If I'm to stay here for several years, I will lose contact with many friends. Friendship is important to me. I'm afraid that friends will drift away during that time."

In the afternoon, we were told of the arrest of two important KOR collaborators, Henryk Wujec and Eugeniusz Kloc. [*Both men were active in the contacts between dissident students and the rebel workers after the 1976 riots. Kloc was Michnik's roommate. W. thinks that these arrests are linked to new investigations of the workers and that the police are searching for new evidence to damage KOR.*]

In the evening, several persons come to the house for conversation. These social gatherings became a habit when KOR's young people protected Halina's safety at her theater. . . . We have 21 guests . . . The conversation over Spanish wine goes far into the night. . . . The day ends with good news: Wujec was released after an unsuccessful attempt at "informal" interrogation. But Kloc is still imprisoned. His room has been searched.

Saturday, June 25. In the morning, Halina and I go to Pewex [*a store where goods may be purchased with American dollars*] because she insists on buying herself real "bluejeans" as the "ideal dress for prison, if one has to be detained" and, if all goes well, they will do for the pilgrimage to Częstochowa. [*W. writes that his wife would not go alone to buy the bluejeans. She tells him that he has a dollar account in the state bank, which is permitted in Poland, and his purchases would not be questioned. Halina, he says, cannot forget anonymous letters and phone calls about dollars "with which foreign subversive centers finance KOR."*]

IX. Writing for the drawer

Sunday, June 26. J. brings good news about the release of Kloc. It looks as if there is no disposition toward imprisonments because he could easily have been kept for exactly the same reason for which the others are detained. Optimism goes to our heads: they released Kloc, so perhaps they will release the others, too?

W. again shows concern over ROPCIO, the rival dissident organization suspected by KOR of being the "Trojan Horse." He discusses with friends the need to remove from KOR a dissident with links to the other group and to break completely with ROPCIO. W. notes that the matter has become further complicated because ROPCIO had just sent to Parliament a letter with 80 signatures demanding the release of imprisoned workers and KOR members. He thinks this is a "tactical maneuver," taken under the pressure of public opinion so that the uninitiated would see in it real proof of loyalty toward KOR.

Monday, June 27. Aside from writing down these notes, I've lived in a complete *dolce far niente*. I have no writing plans for the future. The knowledge that my last two volumes are awaiting publication in vain has deprived me completely of creative imagination. It turns out that I don't know how to write for the drawer. . . .

W. records an article in Trybuna Ludu *condemning those who have been dispatching abroad texts, statements, articles, and information "clearly deforming the present state of the problems in our country." The diarist is indignant over the comment in the article that Poland's problems will not be solved through complaints sent abroad, but through "internal discussions." W. asks: "Where is this internal discussion?" He says that if it were not for KOR, nobody at home or abroad would have ever known about "repression" and arrests, and that if it were not for KOR, most of the workers detained in 1976 would still be in prison.*

Tuesday, June 28. Yesterday, I ran into Jan T. . . . He is completing his engineering studies. He tells me that every professor is under the obligation to "unmask the real character of the opposition." He says that "my colleagues hate official reality, but opposition also appears suspect to them. . . ." But it's different at the University, where students "are excited, some are ready to march on Moscow. This is bad, too . . ." He asks me whether I share his view that there can be no fundamental changes here unless they occur first in the Soviet Union . . . What can I tell him? . . . The activities of Soviet dissidents have been almost completely paralyzed by the arrests of a score of their leaders (it's different than here). These are the first breezes, the first seeds sown on earth frozen like a stone from the terror of a half century. But I believe that from this planting there will come some day a harvest; but will it be in our lifetime? . . .

A. was telling me that Professor Edward Lipiński, KOR's most senior member and authority, has been complaining about his loneliness. "Everyone has drawn away from me," he said, "even those close to me and my pupils. They fear for their jobs." But unlike the professor, we do not yet feel such loneliness. This is because we deal almost exclusively with "compromised" persons who haven't had any jobs for a long time and thus have nothing to fear.

Wednesday, June 29. The Warsaw correspondent of *Frankfurter Allgemeine* has written that in the West an inaccurate view has developed that a permanent and intimate alliance exists in Poland among intellectuals, the Church, and the workers. In reality, the shadow of such an alliance appears only momentarily because oppositionist attitudes of each of these three groups have different motivations and aim at different objectives. Though this isn't pleasant for us, one must recognize that the view of *Frankfurter Allgemeine* is entirely correct.

Thursday, June 30. The secretary-general of "Force Ouvrière," the third largest labor organization in France, addressed a request to President Giscard to intervene with the Polish government over the fate of imprisoned KOR members. New and more serious appeals come from different parts of the world. But our government does not react. It is generally believed that the Soviet Union doesn't permit it to react. . . .

M. has passed her third exam. Maybe she will not fail in her studies. It would be nice if we were spared this problem at least. . . . L. let me read the typescript of his poems, absolutely unsuitable for the censorship, written between 1950 and 1975. I was greatly impressed by their force, consistency, and load of hatred—especially during the period of Socialist Realism. He wrote them "for the drawer," while at the same time he legitimized himself publicly with his little Socialist-Realist poems and children's tales. How he must have hated us—us who without any obstacle were publishing our books and gathering the cream of the official approval, criticism, and readers.

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Aside from writing down these notes, I've lived in a complete dolce far niente. I have no writing plans for the future. The knowledge that my last two volumes are awaiting publication in vain has deprived me completely of creative imagination. It turns out that I don't know how to write for the drawer.

Very unpleasant news on the radio. It seems that Carter suddenly shifted his policy and has capitulated before Brezhnev. The Western democracies are scared! They are dying of fear before the Russian colossus, armed to the teeth! . . . It seems that the nations of the West will start jockeying for Brezhnev's favor—and our friends will rot in prison.

Friday, July 1. KOR observers at the appellate trial before the Supreme Court of Radom worker Henryk Bednarczyk bring the news that for the first time since KOR's creation, the high court has fully considered an appeal. Bednarczyk, sentenced twice by regional courts, has been completely absolved. . . . Experienced KOR experts see in the decision of the Supreme Court a sign of a new policy dictated from above. But I, an old-fashioned man, simply want to believe that there are fair judges in the Supreme Court. . . .

Radio Free Europe broadcast the full text of the appeal of the secretary-general of the French "Force Ouvrière" to President Giscard in defense of KOR prisoners. I was enormously pleased that after listing the names of those imprisoned, he gave an example of another form of repression: "The denial of work to the well-known [*theater*] director Jerzy Markuszewski."

Sunday, July 3. My entire body reminds me violently that I'm over 65 years old and that for nearly a half-century I have suffered from three chronic illnesses. But psychologically, I feel marvelous. I am in the midstream of life, in the principal whirlpool of tiring, irritating, but at the same time, wonderful affairs, uplifting for the soul. Every evening gathering around Halina is an inebriating experience. I am full of admiration for the KOR people. This no longer is "a narrow group of alienated people," as official propaganda insists, but a movement of thousands, gathering together the best people of this country. They are the hope for the rebirth of the nation, so demoralized by totalitarianism. God bless them!

Zapis *(The Chronicle) is a clandestine literary publication that appeared in mid-1977. It is clandestine in the sense of being circulated privately in defiance of censorship, but all the contributions are signed by their authors. W. notes in his diary that he had just read with "admiration" the publication's second issue, which, he says, is clearer in its concepts than the first issue. Much of the material is political polemic, and W. feels "deep emotion and pride" that while official censorship has silenced them in public, Polish writers still have "the courage and possibility" to speak out truthfully "in full voice." W. adds that he was so moved by* Zapis *and the latest* KOR *communiqué that he purchased a "good typewriter" and donated it to* KOR.

According to theater tradition, Halina had to celebrate her name day with drinks the day before yesterday. Her colleagues covered her with more flowers than in past years, but after downing the ritual drink, they "fled like hares" so they would not be suspected of too close ties with the opposition. Still, it was not a bad day for Halina. Her appearance on the stage in *The Cherry Orchard* was greeted with enthusiastic applause. In the evening, after the performance, she received the wishes of KOR friends.

Wednesday, July 6. For the first time since my return from the German prisoner-of-war camp, I have a clean conscience and the sense that I'm on the side that is morally right. I am surrounded by an atmosphere of friendship, loyalty, and ardent ideas. . . .

Our prisoners receive no letters. In this way, they are additionally isolated, punished, and disoriented. The imprisoned KOR members are unaware of the worldwide protests on their behalf. They get no truthful information from the outside . . . Weaker people than they could be broken this way. From Jacek Kuroń's letters to his wife, it is clear that he assumes that everybody in KOR has been arrested. His wife told me that she had complained to the office of the prosecutor but was informed, shamelessly, that all letters are delivered to the prisoners within two to three days of their arrival.

Halina's niece, a painter, has been kicked out of her studio by her landlord. W. thinks she was victimized by her aunt's ties with KOR. In her absence, he says, the police searched the studio several times, apparently to make sure that KOR doesn't maintain a secret print shop or a dollar cache there. But KOR's young people quickly found a new studio for her, moving all her paintings and fabric designs.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts are increasingly jammed. This attempt to deafen the truth with savage screams and thundering music is a symbol of our propaganda. I have started retyping the first draft of these notes. Shall I be able to finish the rewriting? Won't the police grab it first?

X. An unpleasant chill

Thursday, July 7. Bad news from Kraków. Kraków students cooperating with KOR are certainly brave, noble, and ardent, but they do not sin by an excess of common sense. They failed to maintain necessary security conditions, and the result was a militia raid on the "hottest" apartment. Typewriters and 1500 copies of KOR materials, already reproduced, have been seized . . . The recent period of relative calm had lulled us. Again we feel an unpleasant chill in our hearts. Meanwhile, foreign radio stations are broadcasting news about rallies by West German and Swedish youth in solidarity with the Polish democratic opposition.

Saturday, July 9. This morning our telephone was cut

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off. Something must be happening.

Sunday, July 10. The reasons for cutting off our phone yesterday are now clear. The police are again moving to attack. Eugeniusz Kloc called. He and three other KOR activists have been summoned by the prosecutor. In Kraków, several members of the Student Solidarity Committee were also summoned. I'm worried about M., who is visiting Kraków, being caught. . . . Kloc drops in with a pretty young KOR worker. He is concerned about the summons and about having his vacations cancelled by the National Library where he works. . . . The solidarity of the KOR youth is superb. This is particularly true when it comes to the wives of imprisoned KOR members who have small children. After KOR member N. P. was arrested, his wife and two small children were thrown out of their apartment. C. C. immediately gave them her two-room apartment and moved in with the Kuroń family.

Monday, July 11. Halina received the first letter from Adam Michnik. Prison hasn't weakened him or deprived him of his good humor. He writes: "All is in best order with me. I feel well; health and disposition deserve a medal. I hope that for the rest of my life I shall be condemned to make choices in situations as clear and morally meaningful as now." . . . Day before yesterday, Michnik was hailed by name by the great German writer Heinrich Böll. Italian metal workers and exiled Soviet writers are inquiring about him . . . In Michnik's letter an important piece of news is encoded: the prisoners are now receiving our letters. . . . B. T., the wife of a Radom worker sentenced to nine years, was called to militia headquarters in Warsaw and advised that her husband would be released from prison on July 22 if she agrees to cooperate with the militia. She informed KOR.

Tuesday, July 12. As a result of a sober assessment of facts observed in recent days, we have growing hopes that our prisoners will be released. Here are the facts: 1) Numerous summonses to prosecutor offices in Warsaw and Kraków—not leading to arrests or searches—seem to indicate that the authorities are moving to close the investigations; 2) Word from almost all the prisoners that they have received our first letters suggests that the prosecutor no longer exercises psychological pressures on them—this, too, may presage the end of the investigation; 3) The proposal made by the militia to B. T. also smells of amnesty; 4) One should not minimize the promises for the release of political prisoners made by Gierek to various high Polish and foreign personalities.

W. tells of the visit to Warsaw University by United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to receive an honoris causa *degree. KOR had decided to use this occasion to hand him a petition for the release of political prisoners, and it devised a special strategy for doing this. When a hand-picked student approached Waldheim from one side, the letter held up ostentatiously, he was grabbed by the secret police. Taking advantage of the confusion, a dissident approached Waldheim from behind, handing him another copy of the letter, and identifying herself in English as a KOR representative. She, too, was arrested, but Waldheim kept the letter. Both dissidents were released quickly, and W. says that the authorities clearly wanted to avoid an "international scandal." In Radom, however, a number of relatives and acquaintances of a worker killed after the 1976 disturbances were arrested the same day, along with a Warsaw woman student who was in contact with the workers.*

Thursday, July 14. A KOR collaborator, the student K. S., was arrested. . . . Kraków has a new political sensation. A letter to the *Sejm* signed by 629 Kraków students was delivered to Tadeusz Hołuj, a deputy from Kraków and a noted Party writer, who agreed to pass it on officially to the chairman of the *Sejm*. This is the first gesture of this kind from a Party deputy, because in transmitting the protest letter Hołuj expresses in a sense his support for it.

Friday, July 15. We have been too optimistically inclined in recent days, and now life brings us back to reality. Eugeniusz Kloc came in a panic and told us that "something bad is happening." . . . He is terribly tired, close to a breakdown . . . The National Library will not grant him a vacation. At the same time, the "silent ones" watch his every step and he feels their presence everywhere. To make matters worse, some Radom workers, exhausted by constant summonses and interrogations, are weakening and beginning to talk too much about their links with KOR. Kloc is losing his resistance and feels increasingly threatened. He thinks that KOR should launch a counteroffensive, but he doesn't know how. Naturally, if Jacek Kuroń were here, he would have surely invented something. But there is no Kuroń, there is no Michnik . . . Only old men, women, and irresponsible young firebrands are left. One has to admire them for the selfless effort they are making to carry on KOR's affairs. But they too are finished. Too much work, too many problems, for which they have no preparation. Even the tireless Gaja Kuroń complains over the phone, "I can't live any longer. . . ."

Only old men, women, and irresponsible young firebrands are left. One has to admire them for the selfless effort they are making to carry on KOR's affairs. But they too are finished. Too much work, too many problems. Even the tireless Gaja Kuroń complains, "I can't live any longer."

XI. "They are out!"

Wednesday, July 20. Today's newspapers publish the text of the amnesty decree, issued by the Council of State in connection with the July 22 holiday [*the anniversary of the creation of the Polish People's Republic*]. Unfortunately, the extent of the amnesty is rather limited, and on the basis of what was

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printed in *Życie Warszawy*, it is difficult to build hopes for the release of KOR prisoners. Still, there are some hopes. A few hours after the decree was issued, the UPI correspondent called Halina with the news that the spokesman for the prosecutor-general had told a press conference for foreign newsmen that certain specific provisions of the amnesty decree may make it possible, if recommended by the prosecutor's office, to close the investigations and release from prison persons facing charges beyond those mentioned in the general provisions of the amnesty decree. Our attorneys are also hopeful. Thus for the next two days we shall suffer the torture of hope. Yesterday, four letters arrived from prison. . . . Twenty-two outstanding West German leftist intellectuals expressed their solidarity with KOR in a beautiful open letter published in the weekly *Der Spiegel* . . . M. came back from Kraków.

Thursday, July 21. Prosecutor General Lucjan Czubiński informed Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz [*a pro-regime writer*] that all the imprisoned KOR members and collaborators will be released next Saturday. It turns out that our lawyers were right in claiming that the amnesty decree was issued in order to make it possible to release the KOR people. Despite the very modest overall extent of the amnesty, covering in principle only those sentenced to one year in prison, there is a provision authorizing the closing of investigations in cases in which the accused may face ten-year sentences. Our lawyers say that no such amnesty decree has ever been issued in the history of Polish jurisprudence.

Saturday, July 23. They are out! All of them are out! What happiness! The KOR youth are wild with joy. Halina, too. Now comes the time for her to pay the debts she has contracted with God. She vowed that if they are released, she will not drink a drop of alcohol for a whole year (which I commend) and in August she will start on her pilgrimage on foot to Częstochowa (which, considering the state of her health, worries me) . . . What happiness! What happiness!

Sunday, July 24. Last night, a reception to celebrate the freeing of the KOR people. . . . Over 100 persons attending, all happy, not quite believing. I had a long conversation with Professor Edward Lipiński. It was Lipiński, as the respected senior KOR member, who was informed by a representative of the prosecutor-general three days ago about the impending release . . . The prosecutor had said that the workers were released as the result of a decision by the Council of State, while KOR people were freed "on the personal demand of Gierek." He was emphasizing this point. He was suggesting that Gierek had made a conciliatory gesture toward KOR and that KOR should respond in a like fashion, abandoning all further activity . . . I look around the room, at the faces of Kuroń, Lipski, and the others. No, they won't let KOR be taken away from them. I realize that a new period of activity of the democratic opposition is beginning, not less difficult or complicated than previous periods.

Over the radio, dispatches of foreign correspondents from Warsaw, reporting a statement by Jan Józef Lipski that despite the freeing of all the prisoners, KOR doesn't plan to suspend its activities in defense of human rights. A plenary meeting of all KOR members, to be held as soon as possible, will decide what form these activities will take. . . .

Michnik comes over from a meeting of released KOR prisoners. The meeting irritated him and he was annoyed by Kuroń. From what he tells us, two conflicting concepts are emerging as to the future activities of the opposition. Kuroń insists on keeping KOR alive and greatly broadening its activities with special stress on a "citizens' self-government movement." He wants to create a series of specialized activities: a citizens' self-government movement, a consumer defense movement, a housing policy control movement, a social solidarity fund, a publishing department, etc. . . . The overall movement would be under the direction of KOR, which would outline the basic policy.

Adam Michnik sketches plans for a powerful center of independent public opinion. I'm afraid he's still suffering from post-prison shock, but I drink his words like honey. He is enchanted with the atmosphere he has found in KOR circles in Warsaw. Adam says: "People stopped being afraid. This is freedom!"

Michnik considers this concept to be erroneous. In his view, Kuroń and his closest associates—intoxicated with "KOR's victory over the authorities"—are building plans in a world of their private wishes, completely disconnected from reality. Adam recognizes that KOR has achieved success exceeding earlier expectations, but he also thinks that the present moment is the apogee of its activities. If KOR is not dissolved now and allows itself "to be used" for other purposes than those it chose at the outset, then the gradual erosion of its authority will inevitably begin. Its leaders will be seen by the public as stubborn political players who want to act at any cost. . . .

In Adam's opinion, KOR should be proudly dissolved. Oppositionist activities should be taken over by independent action groups with main emphasis on cultural and educational efforts. Adam thinks that what Kuroń proposes is a purely political undertaking—the creation of something akin to a second party—which in the light of international and domestic arrangements must be considered as dangerous folly . . . I too think that the principal activity of the democratic opposition should be concentrated on cultural matters. Here we have truly serious forces and we are capable of original and concrete proposals. We can oppose the official cultural reality with alternative literature, alternative theater, alternative publishing. In this field, we can count on real success (such as *Zapis*). Besides, purely cultural activity promises a calmer life, a greater degree of protection from police excesses, while Kuroń's line represents the continua-

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tion of endless hassles with the police, harassments and persecutions, and arrests . . .

Monday, July 25. This evening we held a reception in honor of the released prisoners. Again, around 100 persons have gathered.

The diarist discusses a private visit to an elderly KOR member from a deputy premier of the government. The official apparently sought to ascertain KOR's future plans and to convey the idea that KOR should give up its activities after the regime's conciliatory gesture. W. notes that this is a new element in relations between the government and the opposition, possibly the first attempt to launch a dialogue. But W. says that Kuroń and his friends are over-optimistic when they talk about the start of a new period of "great liberalization."

Tuesday, July 26. Only today *Trybuna Ludu* and other newspapers published the news of the release of the KOR people, but without giving their names . . . The article says that "the amnesty decree creates the chance of return to normal life for many people. We have the right to expect that, drawing correct conclusions from the facts, these people will take advantage of the chance being given them. . . . All those covered by the amnesty are obliged by the law to observe the basic principles linked to this act of generosity—among them the need to end activities that brought them into conflict with the law . . ."

XII. The price of freedom

Wednesday, July 27. Halina is depressed by the bad state of Kuroń's nerves. He is unnaturally excited, talks incessantly, doesn't allow anyone else to say a word. After all, prison hit him and Michnik really hard. Especially the last 48 hours . . . Just before their release, when they knew they were covered by the amnesty, [*prosecutors*] raised the degree of crimes imputed to them by adding the provision of "recidivism." Jacek and Adam say that the last 48 hours, with the threat of "recidivism" over their heads and the prospect of years in prison, were hard to live through . . . Kuroń and Michnik are still followed by militia cars.

Saturday, July 30. Michnik visited me yesterday. He was as happy as if he were riding 100 horses. He had conversations with Kuroń and Macierewicz. They agreed on the future activities of the KOR movement. Principal emphasis on cultural-educational activity. "The struggle to preserve the soul of the nation," says Adam.

W. notes that he had recently praised in his diary the attitude of Kraków's deputy Hołuj for agreeing to transmit to the chairman of parliament a protest letter signed by 629 students. However, he says, it turned out that Hołuj refused to do so, and instead wrote a critical letter to the students.

Monday, August 1. After the annual mass in memory of the Warsaw uprising, I met J., who has contacts in many areas. According to him, there is a "drop in the revolutionary wave." People have realized that despite their expectations last year, there are no signs of a rapid or basic change, and that the struggle for the observance of the laws and for a general democratization undertaken by the opposition must be a very long and slow process. Thus they prefer not to become involved in this struggle. It is harder and harder to find volunteers to distribute KOR materials and collect money for KOR. People are afraid of the all-powerful security apparatus . . . He also tells me how the police try to prevent the employment of persons removed from jobs in the context of the post-June [*1976*] repression. When one of the released prisoners, an open KOR follower, found a job in a private locksmith shop, the owner lost the license to operate his business.

Tuesday, August 2. Several released KOR prisoners were called to the employment office to be offered jobs, not bad ones, but outside their fields of specialization. None of them accepted the offer on the grounds that they have the right to return to their specialties. I wonder if they aren't exaggerating in their bravura.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts almost daily long excerpts from the publication *Opinia*, edited beyond the reach of censorship by ROPCIO . . . *Opinia*, unlike KOR publications, is clearly tolerated by the authorities. Its typewriters and copying machines are not seized, its editors are not arrested, it isn't prevented from gathering information in the field. The authorities evidently are using ROPCIO as a "less dangerous opposition," which will lead to the liquidation of "the more dangerous opposition," i.e., KOR (Communist authorities always prefer to deal with right wing–nationalist opposition rather than with leftist-liberal opposition). But this is a very risky game. ROPCIO has all the conditions to become a mass opposition movement. Leszek Moczulski [*the main leader*] has been able to establish close relations with the right wing of the Church and to win, as a result, 2000 ardent apostles in the persons of Jesuit priests (KOR, at best, could count on 175 Dominican priests). *Opinia* reaches the farthest corners of the country and is distributed among high school students. Thus far ROPCIO is careful to avoid direct attacks on KOR, but tries to discredit it quietly and effectively as "Eurocommunism" and as opposition "within the Party" rather than as "nationwide opposition." It calls itself the "true opposition."

Saturday, August 6. Adam Michnik drops in during the evening for a chat. He has had a chance to study the situation fully and he's in a great mood. He assures me that great changes are coming. Like me, he sees the opportunity for the most important activity in *Zapis* and other publications . . . He sketches plans for the development of a powerful center of independent public opinion. I'm afraid he's still suffering from post-prison shock, but I drink his words like honey. He is enchanted with the atmosphere he has found in KOR circles in Warsaw. Adam says: "People stopped being afraid. This is freedom!"

W.'s diary ends with a long entry on Sunday, August 7, describing a night of harassment in his home with obscene phone calls, then the unceasing ringing of the telephone, which W. refused to answer, and finally the insistent ringing of the doorbell well into the dawn. The diary's final line:

I clench my fists. "Be calm," I tell myself. "Be calm. One has to pay for freedom."

On September 29, 1977, twenty-three KOR members—including Jacek Kuroń and Adam Michnik—voted to transform KOR into the Committee for Social Self-Defense with the Polish acronym of KSS/KOR. The text of the KSS/KOR declaration was published in the November issue of KOR's Information Bulletin. *The goals of the organization were listed as:*

1. *Struggle against repression enforced for political, religious, and racial reasons, and assistance to persons persecuted for these reasons.*
2. *Struggle against violations of legality, and help to the victims.*
3. *Struggle for institutional guarantees of citizens' rights.*
4. *Support and defense of all social initiatives aimed at the fulfillment of the rights of man and citizen.*

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JUST AND UNJUST WARS, by Michael Walzer. Basic Books, 384 pp., $15.00.

An exception to the rules

NOAM CHOMSKY

WHEN IS THE RESORT TO violence justified in international affairs? What acts are legitimate in the conduct of war? These questions raise difficult problems of ethical judgment and historical analysis. Michael Walzer insists, quite correctly, that beyond merely "describ[ing] the judgments and justifications that people commonly put forward, [we] can analyze these moral claims, seek out their coherence, lay bare the principles that they exemplify." His aim is to develop a certain conception of our "moral world," and to draw from it both specific judgments on historical events and operative criteria for resolving future dilemmas.

There are certain beliefs on these matters that are so widely held as to deserve to be called "standard." With regard to the question of resorting to violence, the standard doctrine holds that it is justified in self-defense or as a response to imminent armed attack, often construed in the words of Daniel Webster in the *Caroline* case, which Walzer quotes: ". . . instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation." This part of the standard doctrine Walzer calls "the legalist paradigm." With regard to the exercise of force, another part of the standard doctrine constitutes what Walzer calls "the war convention," consisting of such principles as, for instance, that prisoners should not be massacred and civilians should not be the direct objects of attack.

The standard doctrine, which is codified in various international conventions, holds that both the resort to war and the means employed in warfare fall within the realm of moral discourse. There has been extensive discussion of these issues in the context of the Vietnam War, the conflict that prompted Walzer's concern. While the standard doctrine is regularly violated, it remains a worthwhile endeavor to evaluate and refine it.

Walzer argues that the legalist paradigm is too restrictive in certain respects. In other respects, however, he interprets it strictly, as he does the war convention. Walzer takes the anti-Axis effort in Europe in World War II to be "the paradigm . . . of a justified struggle"; Nazism, he believes, "lies at the outer limits of exigency, at a point where we are likely to find ourselves united in fear and abhorrence." Nevertheless, he condemns as illegitimate under the legalist paradigm Churchill's decision to mine the territorial waters of neutral Norway in order to prevent ore shipments to Nazi Germany, and he considers the terror bombing of German cities to be a serious violation of the war convention. As these examples illustrate, he construes the standard doctrine strictly, even in the extreme case of the struggle against Nazism.

Walzer points out that it is impossible within the confines of his study to present an elaborate historical argument, but to me, at least, the above

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Walzer represents a wide consensus in assigning a special status to Israel.

conclusions seem reasonable. Furthermore, Walzer is right to challenge widely accepted views, for example with regard to terror bombing. It is enough to recall the fundamental moral flaw of the Nuremberg tribunal, graphically revealed by Telford Taylor's observation, in *Nuremberg and Vietnam*, that "there was no basis for criminal charges against German or Japanese" leaders for aerial bombardment because "both sides had played the terrible game of urban destruction—the Allies far more successfully." As it turns out, the operational definition of a "crime of war" is a criminal act of which the defeated enemies, but not the victors, are guilty. The consequences of this moral stance were soon to be seen in Korea and Vietnam. It would be naive to suppose that a serious moral critique would have prevented further criminal acts of the sort condoned (or ignored) under the Nuremberg principles. Nevertheless, the example illustrates the seriousness of the enterprise in which Walzer is engaged.

Even the most profound justification of the standard doctrine would be of limited import, since it is in any case widely accepted in principle, if not in practice. Hence the major interest of Walzer's study lies in the modifications and refinements he proposes, as in his restrictive interpretation of the war convention. Since the burden of justification rests on those who employ force, the still more significant part of his study lies in those departures from the standard doctrine which advocate its relaxation. These relate only to the legalist paradigm of the justified use of force.

WALZER SUGGESTS FOUR modifications that extend the legalist paradigm. Three of these revisions "have this form: States can be invaded and wars justly begun to assist secessionist movements (once they have demonstrated their representative character), to balance the prior interventions of other powers, and to rescue peoples threatened with massacre." These extensions are discussed under the heading of "humanitarian intervention." Walzer states that "clear examples of what is called 'humanitarian intervention' are very rare. Indeed, I have not found any, but only mixed cases where the humanitarian motive is one among several." He cites the Indian invasion of Bangladesh as a possible example (the only one cited), since "it was a *rescue*, strictly and narrowly defined," and the Indian troops "were in and out of the country . . . quickly."

There then remains to be considered one serious proposal for relaxing the restrictions of the standard doctrine; and thus much of the significance of Walzer's study lies in this crucial case. It is the case of "preemptive strikes." Walzer accepts "the moral necessity of rejecting any attack that is merely preventive in character, that does not wait upon and respond to the willful acts of an adversary" (hence his condemnation of the mining of Norwegian waters). But he feels that the *Caroline* doctrine is too narrow. Preemptive strikes are justified, he proposes, when there is "a manifest intent to injure, a degree of active preparation that makes that intent a positive danger, and a general situation in which waiting, or doing anything other than fighting, greatly magnifies the risk."

A single example is offered: the Israeli preemptive strike of June 5, 1967. This, Walzer holds, is "a clear case of legitimate anticipation," the only one cited—in this review of 2500 years of history—to illustrate the point that states may use military force even prior to the direct use of military force against them. Israel was "the victim of aggression" in 1967, Walzer claims, even though no military action had been taken against it. What is more, we can have "no doubts" about this case, as Walzer states in the following extraordinary passage:

> Often enough, despite the cunning agents, the theory is readily applied. It is worth setting down some of the cases about which we have, I think, *no doubts*; the German attack on Belgium in 1914, the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, the Japanese attack on China, the German and Italian interventions in Spain, the Russian invasion of Finland, the Nazi conquests of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Belgium, and Holland, the Russian invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Egyptian *challenge* to Israel in 1967 [my italics].

The Egyptian "challenge" to Israel is thus a clear case of "aggression," on a par with the direct use of armed force in each of the other cases cited. The legalist paradigm fails, according to Walzer, because, given the *Caroline* doctrine, it does not condone Israel's response to this "aggression."

Note the crucial nature of this case for Walzer's argument. In a review covering 2500 years, Egypt's 1967 challenge is the single example cited of "aggression" involving no direct resort to force; nevertheless, it is not an ambiguous example, but one that raises "no doubts." Israel's preemptive strike is the one historical example adduced to illustrate the need to modify the legalist paradigm to permit "anticipations." Furthermore, this is the only modification covering supposedly unambiguous historical examples that involves a *relaxation* of the standard doctrine. What Walzer is proposing here, as he notes, is a "major revision of the legalist paradigm. For it means that aggression can be made out not only in the absence of a military attack or invasion but in the (probable) absence of any immediate intention to launch such an attack or invasion." Given the burden carried by this example, a serious inquiry into the historical facts would certainly appear to be in order, but Walzer undertakes no such inquiry. He merely asserts that Israeli anxiety "seems an almost classical example of 'just fear'—first, because Israel really was in danger . . . and second, because [Nasser's] military moves served no other, more limited goal."

Israeli generals take a rather different view. The commander of the air force at the time, General Ezer Weizman, stated that he would

> accept the claim that there was no threat of destruction against the existence of the State of Israel. This does not mean, however, that one could have refrained from attacking the Egyptians, the Jordanians and the Syrians. Had we not done that, the State of Israel would have ceased to exist *according to the scale, spirit and quality she now embodies* . . . We entered the Six-Day War in order to secure a position in which we can manage our lives here according to our wishes without external pressures [my italics].

The Israeli correspondent of *Le Monde*,

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Amnon Kapeliouk, citing corroboratory statements by General Matityahu Peled and former Chief of Staff Haim Bar-Lev, wrote that "no serious argument has been advanced to refute the thesis of the three generals." This assessment is confirmed by American intelligence sources, who found no evidence that Egypt was planning an attack and estimated that Israel would easily win no matter who struck the first blow. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff reported to the President on May 26 that Israel could remain mobilized for two months without serious trouble. "In a military sense, then, time did not seem to be running out" (William Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*).

*GENERAL WEIZMAN'S JUS*tification for the preemptive strike bears comparison to the argument advanced by Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, after the attack on Belgium in 1914:

> France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French attack on our flank on the lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Government of Belgium . . . He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through.

Walzer properly dismisses this justification, pointing out that nonmilitary options had not all been foreclosed and deriding the reference to Germany's "highest possession," which he takes to mean "honor and glory" (compare Weizman's "scale, spirit and quality"). "The mere augmentation of power," Walzer insists, "cannot be a warrant for war or even the beginning of warrant." No doubt one can find differences, possibly even decisive ones, between the Israeli and German attacks, or between the Israeli strike and the Russian invasion of Finland—another clear case of aggression, even though, as Walzer concedes, the defense of Leningrad from possible future German attack was at stake and Russia's invasion after Finnish refusal of territorial exchange may have saved Leningrad from encirclement when the Nazis did attack. But two points deserve mention. First, Walzer does not seriously address the relevant historical background. This is a remarkable oversight given the crucial role of the Israeli strike in his argument, and given also his insistence that the Israeli attack on the one hand, and the German and Russian attacks on the other, are all "clear cases," falling on opposite sides of the moral divide. Second, a serious analysis of the 1967 case would quickly reveal that there are indeed doubts and ambiguities, contrary to Walzer's claim.

Walzer presents only the Israeli version of events leading to the 1967 war. He ignores not only the Arab version, but also the well-known analyses of commentators committed to neither side. He does not mention the Israeli attack on the Jordanian villiage of Es-Samu in November 1966, leaving 18 dead, a "reprisal" after terrorist attacks allegedly originating in Syria (censured by the UN, including the United States). Nor does he discuss the exchange of fire on April 7, 1967, which "gave rise to intervention first by Israeli and then by Syrian aircraft, [then to] the appearance of Israeli planes over the outskirts of Damascus and to the shooting down of six Syrian planes" with no Israeli losses (Charles Yost, *Foreign Affairs*, January 1968; Yost takes this to have been "the curtain-raiser to the Six-Day War").

Walzer's unqualified assertion that Nasser's moves served no more limited goal than to endanger Israel is sharply at variance with the judgment of many other observers. Yost, for instance, notes various inflammatory Israeli statements that "may well have been the spark that ignited the long accumulating tinder" and discusses the problem that Nasser faced "for his failure to stir at the time of the Es-Samu and April 7 affairs." Walzer mentions that Egypt expelled the UN Emergency Force from the Sinai and Gaza and closed the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping. He fails to mention that Israel had never permitted UN forces on its side of the border and refused the request of the UN secretary-general to allow them to be stationed there after Egypt ordered partial evacuation of the UN forces from its territory. (Egypt did not order the UN forces out of Sharm el Sheikh.) As for the closing of the Strait of Tiran, if we apply the reasoning that Walzer feels is appropriate in the case of the German attack on Belgium, we see that there remained unexploited possibilities for peaceful settlement. For example, the matter might have been referred to the International Court of Justice, as Egypt had been requesting since 1957. This proposal was always rejected by Israel, possibly because it agreed with John Foster Dulles that "there is a certain amount of plausibility from the standpoint of international law, perhaps, to [the Arab] claims" (though the United States disagreed with this conclusion).

It also seems that Nasser may have had some legitimate cause for concern when he heard Levi Eshkol, the Israeli Prime Minister, declare that "we shall hit when, where, and how we choose," or when he learned that the Israeli chief of intelligence, General Yariv, had informed the international press that "I think that the only sure and safe answer to the problem is a military operation of great size and strength" against Syria. Nasser alluded to these statements in his May 23 speech, in which he noted various Israeli threats against Syria. And his concern may have been augmented—quite understandably—by the memory of the surprise Israeli attack of 1956, at a time when Egypt was making serious efforts to quiet the border.

My remarks here only scratch the surface of the issue. The point is that the historical record is far more complex and ambiguous than Walzer makes it out to be. His statement that Egypt's "challenge" is a simple and indubitable case of "aggression," on a par with the Nazi conquests in Europe, can hardly be taken seriously. Furthermore, he ignores the aftermath of the Israeli attack. Quite unlike the case of Bangladesh, the Israeli army did not leave. Rather, it prepared for a continuing occupation, with a clearly stated policy aimed at the eventual annexation of some areas, the actual annexation of eastern Jerusalem, and a program of settlement and integration of the occupied territories—a program that continues in the face of nearly unanimous international condemnation.

Some 200,000 West Bank Arabs fled during the Israeli attack in 1967, and about the same number fled or were forcibly expelled after the cease-fire. For many months afterward, UN Chief of Staff General Odd Bull reports, "The Israelis encouraged their departure by various means, just as they had in 1948." As late as the following November, he adds, "There can certainly be no doubt that many thousands of Arabs at this time fled across the Jordan to the East Bank, even though there may be no precise evidence of the methods that were employed to ensure their departure." Thus the land was "liberated"—freed of a large part of its population. The Israelis instituted a military regime in the conquered areas that differs from others of the same type primarily in the favorable press that it has enjoyed in

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the United States. All of these subsequent developments seem relevant to an evaluation of the Israeli attack, as Walzer would surely see the relevance of similar developments in other cases he discusses.

I focus on this particular example because of its crucial role in the structure of Walzer's presentation of his "moral world." With this case removed, Walzer is left with no historical example of any substance to indicate that his recommended departures from the legalist paradigm are more than academic—that is, that they cover actual historical events. This is not to say that the discussion is worthless; even a purely abstract discussion of these issues is of some interest. But we no longer have "a moral argument with historical illustrations," as the book's subtitle states, at least in the crucial case of relaxing the restrictions of the standard doctrine. Rather, what we have is a mere moral assertion lacking any connection to clear historical cases.

WALZER'S ANALYSIS OF "peacetime reprisals" might also be taken to imply a relaxation of the standard doctrine. He argues that "reprisals are clearly sanctioned by the practice of nations, and the (moral) reason behind the practice seems as strong as ever." The moral argument he presents seems weak; it barely goes beyond assertion. His single example of a "legitimate reprisal" again involves Israel: this time, the 1968 Israeli raid on the Beirut airport in which 13 civilian planes were destroyed in retaliation for an attack on an Israeli plane by two terrorists in Athens. In fact, the reprisal was hardly efficacious: It "aroused considerable sympathy for the Palestinians in Lebanon and brought their activities more into the open" (John Cooley, *Green March, Black September*), as could have been anticipated. Walzer might have strengthened his point by drawing some of the natural conclusions of his position: For example, that it would be quite proper for Cuban commandos to destroy commercial aircraft at Washington National Airport in reprisal for the acts of terrorists organized in the United States.

Walzer also gives an example of an illegitimate Israeli reprisal, namely, the commando attack in which more than 40 villagers were killed in the Jordanian village of Qibya in 1953, in response to a terrorist murder in Israel that had no known connection to this village. Walzer concludes that in this case "the killings were criminal," but the strongest judgment he allows himself is that "particular Israel responses have indeed been questionable, for it is a hard matter to know what to do in such cases." Walzer never explains why his condemnation of terrorist acts *against* Israel is not similarly nuanced. For example, in March 1954, 11 Israelis were murdered on a bus in the Negev; it was the most serious Arab terrorist act since the establishment of the state. In response, the Israeli army attacked the Jordanian village of Nahaleen (which was in no way involved), killing nine villagers. Walzer regards the Israeli retaliation as merely "questionable." But then why was not the original Arab attack also just "questionable"? Or why not also describe the Israeli commandos as "thugs and fanatics," Walzer's term for Arab terrorists (in the *New Republic* article from which this account of terrorism is drawn)? The actual perpetrators of the ambush-massacre of the people on the bus were, as was known at the time, from a Bedouin tribe that had been driven into the desert by Israeli troops. More than 7000 of these Bedouins were expelled from 1949 to 1954, as Israel encroached on the demilitarized zones. Surely Walzer should grant that it is also a "hard matter to know what to do" when people are driven from their homes and their traditional grazing and watering grounds, and left destitute in the desert—as it is a "hard matter to know what to do" when thousands of peasants are expelled from their bulldozed villages in the same region in the past few years—actions that continue as I write, though the American press is silent.

Remarkably, "terrorism" has come to exclude state-organized terrorism.

Walzer does discuss terrorism, but his account is deeply flawed. He makes the important point that the tendency to restrict the term "terrorism" to "revolutionary violence" is "a small victory for the champions of order, among whom the uses of terror are by no means unknown." It is indeed remarkable to see how the term has been restricted in recent years so as to exclude state-organized terrorism. Walzer asserts that "contemporary terrorist campaigns are most often focused on people whose national existence has been radically devalued: the Protestants of Northern Ireland, the Jews of Israel, and so on." He then develops the following "precise historical point: that terrorism in the strict sense, the random murder of innocent people, emerged as a strategy of revolutionary struggle only in the period after World War II."

His "precise historical point," however, is precisely false, as a look at his favored example suffices to show. In just three weeks in July 1938, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, dedicated to the ideals of Menahem Begin's mentor Ze'ev Jabotinsky and later headed by Begin himself, killed 76 Arabs in terrorist attacks on Arab markets and other public places. There were many similar pre-World War II examples: bombs placed in Arab movie theaters, sniping at Arab quarters and trains carrying Arabs, and so on. The propagandists of the Jewish terrorist groups gloried in these triumphs. One of the heroes of the Herut, the party of the current prime minister of Israel, is a man hanged by the British for firing on an Arab bus.

(And while the main paramilitary force of the Jewish community in Palestine did not systematically resort to random terror, it did not disdain it entirely. To cite one case, the same page of the official history that describes the Haganah assassination of the orthodox Jewish poet Dr. Israel Jacob de Haan in 1924 goes on to describe how the Haganah destroyed the house of an Arab near the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem in retaliation for harassment of Jewish worshippers by Arab youths; the bomb caused no injuries "because by chance the inhabitants of the house were away" [*Toldot Hahaganah*, the official history of the Haganah].)

Contrary to Walzer's claim, random

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murder of innocent people is no post-war invention of the Provisional IRA and the PLO. His point about "people whose national existence has been radically devalued" is very well-taken —but it applies to Palestinian Arabs no less than to "the Jews of Israel."

THE SPECIAL PLACE OF ISrael in Walzer's "moral world" is also revealed in his discussion of the war convention—the set of principles that apply once war is under way. He contrasts orders given at My Lai with those issued to Israeli troops entering Nablus during the June 1967 war, citing a book of conversations among Israeli soldiers. It is perhaps less obvious than he assumes that this is the most objective source of evidence concerning the humane practices of the Israeli army. But putting that question aside, he might have selected other examples from the same book, examples concerning, say, the village of Latrun, destroyed by Israeli troops, whose inhabitants were driven into exile. He might have even taken a further step and quoted the eyewitness account by the Israeli journalist Amos Kenan, describing the bulldozing of Latrun and neighboring villages under the command of officers who told their troops, "Why worry about them, they're only Arabs." He might have even quoted Kenan's prophetic conclusion: "The fields were turned to desolation before our eyes, and the children who dragged themselves along the road that day, weeping bitterly, will be the *fedayeen* of 19 years hence."

In another section of the book, Walzer comments briefly on the pacifist critique of the standard doctrine in an afterword, making the familiar point that nonviolent measures appeal to "the essential humanity of the enemy," in A. J. Muste's phrase, and are therefore of doubtful relevance when the appeal will not be heeded. Much pacifist theory relies on a dual psychological doctrine: Nonviolence will strike a responsive chord, and violent resistance will so shape the character of those who choose it that the distinction between aggressor and resister will be erased. As Muste put it, "kindness provokes kindness" and "the problem after a war [even a just war] is with the victor. He thinks he has just proved that war and violence pay. Who will now teach him a lesson?" Walzer does not directly address these basic premises of the theory of nonviolent resistance. To me it seems that they cannot be easily dismissed, though ultimately they cannot be sustained. I've written about this elsewhere *(American Power and the New Mandarins)* and will not pursue the question any further here.

Many other difficult and important questions are raised in Walzer's study, and much of the discussion is literate and richly textured. The examples I have focused on, however, reveal a crucial moral and intellectual flaw, which undermines much of the argument. No doubt Walzer expresses a broad consensus in American society when he assigns a special status to Israel and reconstructs the "moral world" accordingly, but this simply reflects the pathology of the times. Comparable judgments on the exceptional status of Soviet Russia would not have been unusual in an earlier period. Consensus is no criterion of truth or justice. ❑

THE HUMAN FACTOR, by Graham Greene. Simon and Schuster, 347 pp., $9.95.

Unconvincing dilemma

JULIAN SYMONS

BOOK CODES AND LETTER drops, references to "the firm" and its boss C, a leak somewhere in the African section and the need to eliminate the man thought to be responsible—such spy story material, fresh in the early days of Le Carré and Deighton but now distinctly shopworn, provides the basis of Graham Greene's new novel.

Mr. Greene, however, as we should expect, exploits his betrayals with a difference. We know from the start that the leak comes through the dullish, elderly, solidly respectable Castle and not his jaunty bachelor subordinate Davis who is immediately suspected. Castle has a black wife named Sarah, hates apartheid, and passes secrets to the Soviet Union partly from love of Africa and partly as payment of an emotional debt to Carson, a Communist functionary who helped free Sarah from BOSS, the South African secret police. "One kind of Communism—or Communist—saved you," Castle says to Sarah. "I don't have any trust in Marx or Lenin any more than I have in Saint Paul, but haven't I the right to be grateful?" Through gratitude and love Castle's happiness is destroyed, and this paradox is at the center of the book. Its key is an epigraph from Conrad: "He who forms a tie is lost. The germ of corruption has entered into his soul."

Before dealing with what may fairly be called the book's message, it has to be said that the spy story element is both conventional and a bit of a caricature. The need to eliminate the informer is discussed during a weekend's shooting at Sir John Hargreaves's place in the country (Sir John is C), and it is finally settled over meals in London clubs like the Reform and the Traveller's, where a good deal of fuss is made about the quality of the smoked trout. There are jokes about sweets called Maltesers and about ABC teashops, jokes that are a little off the mark as sometimes happens when Greene is writing about modern England. There is a security man who is separated from his wife and buys cold sausages from Fortnum's for his evening meal. A nasty little doctor named Percival polishes off Davis with a poison from the nerve gas and germ establishment at Porton, when he meant only to cause a preliminary illness. All this is lively and readable, but not altogether convincing. It is not clear, for instance, why Davis should automatically be suspected, when African secrets are being leaked and it is Castle who has an African wife.

This, however, is the periphery. The book rests on the creation of Castle, and on Castle's moral dilemmas. He is an almost supertypical Greene figure. He lives in suburban peace an hour out of London at Berkhamsted (where Greene himself spent much of his childhood). His relationships with Sarah and his son Sam are the bulwarks he has built against the uncertainty of the secret life in which he pays his debt to Carson by passing on information which he knows to be of little importance. Castle has the Greene stigmata of weakness and inefficiency. He is physically sterile, and even his love for Sarah and Sam is a kind of substitute for the faith in a God or a system which he does not possess. He is so

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inefficient that he bungles the distasteful but necessary shooting of a dog, leaving it to die in agony. He is finicky about what he will and won't do for his masters, so that he is prepared to help them in Africa but not in Europe.

Castle is stung into rash action when he is told of a project named Uncle Remus, which will involve cooperation between the United States (presumably the CIA), his own British agency, and BOSS to work against insurgent movements in South Africa. He is required to work with and entertain the man from BOSS, who is an old enemy from his South African days. Under this emotional strain, Castle passes on material which he thinks valuable, panics needlessly, and is got away to Moscow. There he learns that he was being fooled all the time by his Russian masters, in a manner which perhaps shouldn't be given away. We leave him at the end telephoning Sarah in England, hoping but not believing that she and Sam will one day be allowed to join him. I was reminded of the song that seems to be coming from the telescreen at the end of *1984*:

Under the spreading chestnut tree
I sold you and you sold me.

Most of *The Human Factor* is written with the expert smoothness that one expects of Graham Greene, and the narrative shifts are managed with great skill. There are brilliant scenes, like one in which Castle goes to a wedding reception held in the house of a woman with a passion for china owls, and there learns of Davis's death. This scene, like so much in Greene's work (the civilized club chat about murder in this book, for instance) is vividly cinematic. Yet *The Human Factor* cannot be called a satisfactory novel, as his other studies in power and corruption, *The Power and the Glory* and *The Quiet American*, are satisfactory.

HOW ARE WE TO READ THE book? If Castle is to be regarded as an image of helpless suffering humanity destroyed by the rival political systems of our time, one has to say that he is simply inadequate to the part. Is he a warning of the perils of necessary loyalty? But his loyalty to Carson, which involves placing the people he loves in danger, seems a little absurd. Perhaps, then, we should give up such moral interpretations and consider the book simply as an adventure and spy novel? If we do—and this is working against the grain, because Greene is an insistent moralist—then the story is short on action and excitement. The basic failure of the novel is that we are never convinced that Castle's moral problem need exist. He is 62, with retirement near. Surely he could have soldiered on for another year or two, or if that was impossible (he is feeling the strain, drinking too much), he could have applied for and got an early retirement. Callous thoughts these, that take no account of the fine web of indecision and uncertainty spun for Castle by his creator, but the very fact that a sympathetic reader can feel them is important. The web is gossamer. One has the impression that Castle might have torn it apart by a good strong pull with one hand, letting in everyday reality.

CONGRESSIONAL STAFFS: The Invisible Force In American Lawmaking, by Harrison W. Fox, Jr. and Susan Webb Hammond. Free Press, 207 pp., $12.95.

Sorcerers' apprentices

MICHAEL ANDREW SCULLY

THE ANCIENTS, AS IS WELL known, reasoned that healthy politics could exist only in a city-state limited in size to perhaps 10,000 inhabitants. So when the American Founders claimed they had solved the problem of size, it was no small boast. They believed, however, that they had discovered a new science of politics, involving the principle of representation, the separation of powers, and a commercial basis for the polity. Through this, they argued, a representative democracy comprised of a large number of individuals spread over a large land mass was not only possible, but it was even the most desirable form of government.

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Even granting the very considerable differences between the ancient and modern ends of government—virtuous citizens as against a citizenry not necessarily virtuous, but surely free—the Founders seem to have won their point. A democratic nation, at least when organized to secure the political rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, can be a populous nation. It now seems likely that our age will determine whether democratic liberties can survive the burden of ends other than these. For government involvement in matters that were once by and large outside of politics—health, family life, transfers of private wealth, the details of production and commerce—seems to require empowering a class of "experts," and these experts now flourish in a government founded upon the principle that the people have the ultimate, even if not the only or always wisest, "expertise."

One result of this new situation has been an enormous change in our legislative institutions, due to the extraordinary growth in congressional staffing. Today, congressional staff number considerably in excess of the maximum for Aristotle's healthy city-state, and the total number of congressional employees is four times that "healthy" 10,000. Considering the importance of the elective principle to the legislative branch in particular, this is a phenomenon deserving of scrutiny.

In *Congressional Staffs: The Invisible Force in American Lawmaking*, Harrison W. Fox, Jr. and Susan Webb Hammond, two former congressional staffers now in the Academe, present the most detailed account yet available of the numbers, tasks, backgrounds, and motivations of the men and women who assist elected representatives on Capitol Hill. The authors have amassed, and with some measure of clarity present, information developed by recent House and Senate committees established to study the functioning of the congressional staffs, as well as previously published scholarly efforts and independent research. Unfortunately, the authors have a tendency toward political science jargon, which will distract and discourage many general readers. Not even this flaw, however, can dull the impact of the remarkable evidence they present.

There are two categories of congressional staff members, those who serve as staff to committees, and those on the "personal" staffs of senators and congressmen. In 1976, there were about

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1500 committee staff members for the Senate, and an average of 32 personal staff employees for each senator, allotted according to the size of his state. Senators from populous states who also possess committee seniority command a veritable army of staff. New York's veteran Senator Jacob Javits, for example, has 53 personal staff members, as well as 27 committee staff members, under his control. The House, with many more members, maintains roughly the same number of committee staff employees, a total of 1548 in 1976, and twice the total number of personal staff, close to 7000. In 1976, House and Senate staff salaries and expenses were $340 million.

These numbers reflect only those directly in the employ of lawmakers and their committees; if all employees of Congress, including in such disparate enterprises as the Library of Congress and the Botanical Gardens, are included, the total of congressional employees swells to some 40,000, and personnel costs rise to some $951 million annually.

VIRTUALLY EVERY SENATOR and congressman employs as head of his personal staff an administrative assistant, frequently an individual with close ties to the home constituency, and often a former campaign manager or political operative. There is, of course, considerable clerical help, much of it directed toward answering the modern legislator's substantial mail load, either by personal letter, or in the case of letters on frequently cited topics, by form-letter machine. Filling out the administrative section of the staff are professional caseworkers, frequently former secretaries experienced in assisting constituents in dealing with government agencies.

The staff element to which Fox and Hammond devote the most attention—and quite rightly so—is the growing number and influence of legislative aides. These are committee professionals, as well as personal staff members assigned to legislative affairs, who analyze pending legislation, research new proposals, draft statements for the *Congressional Record,* and write virtually all reports on bills the committee approves; their reports then serve as major guideposts for court and agency judgments of "legislative intent." All this is done under the aegis of their elected employers, and always over their employers' signatures. Fox and Hammond write that:

> House personal staffs have taken the lead in working on floor strategy for end-the-war amendments, House reform, and other issues. Senate aides were largely responsible for defeating two of President Nixon's Supreme Court nominees, for hammering out an acceptable version of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, and for various of the recent changes in procedure and resources distribution. Sheer numbers are one reason for this activity. But another, and more fundamental, cause is the expertise of aides and an acceptance of their role on the part of the principals in the Congressional arena: Senators and Representatives.

"Expertise" has had both good and bad effects on Congress. Professional staffers of the better sort allow a continuity in committee work, and in their own areas of specialty they sometimes develop a perspective on legislation—a sense of what works and does not—that eludes their busy employers. In fact, it is not unusual for senators to defer to the judgment of a respected senior committee aide regarding some unexpected floor amendment to a complex piece of legislation.

Yet there can be little doubt that staff assistance entangles as well as facilitates the legislative process. During an average session of Congress, more than 15,000 bills are introduced in the House and 10,000 in the Senate, a proportion far closer to the ratio of House to Senate aides than of House to Senate members. In 1974, with staff assistance, the Senate amassed a half-million pages of committee hearings, of which not even the most diligent senator read more than the smallest fraction. Moreover, the existence of what Michael L. Malbin has called "entrepreneurial" staff members, who seek out new areas for legislation or hearings—especially for the benefit of the political careers of their bosses—gives momentum to congressional "activity." In fact, as Malbin has reported, it was the potential political dividends to their employer which first enticed Senate Commerce Committee aides to heed a young lawyer named Ralph Nader; Nader's auto safety issue, they believed, would establish Warren Magnuson, the committee chairman, as having other than pork barrel interests.

The efforts of Fox and Hammond will aid in the badly needed discussion of the role of congressional staff, and, by implication, of the elected representatives in our system of government. The American political system has become one from which so very much is demanded that it is not easy for any government, and certainly not a free one, to provide it. For when the Founders spoke of expertness in the legislature, they invariably referred to what *elected* officials could learn from tenure and from each other. There is no reason to think that because acceptance of another kind of legislative expertness may be necessary, it ought not also be worrisome. Congressional staff is the legislature's response to a massive executive branch, which is itself the product of the attempt to use government to effect other than the securing of political rights: to use it to bring about specific social and economic conditions. Thus, there is a new question of size, one the Founders may not have conceived: Can there be a republic that will not slump under the weight of so much human desire? ❏

THE BOOK OF MERLYN: The Unpublished Conclusion to The Once and Future King, by T. H. White. University of Texas Press, 137 pp., $9.95.

The damned human race revisited

JEFF RIGGENBACH

TEMPTING AS IT IS TO THINK of *The Silmarillion* and *The Book of Merlyn* in the same mental breath, to see them as symptoms of the same culturewide trend toward fantasy—resist that temptation. *The Lord of the Rings* is a different kind of thing entirely from *The Once and Future King*. Where Tolkien's modern precursors are tale-tellers like Lord Dunsany and E. R. Eddison, White's are social satirists like Thomas Love Peacock and James Branch Cabell. And in *The Book*

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of Merlyn, the belatedly published fifth and final book of his Arthurian romance, White is reminiscent most of all of that great scoffer at Arthurian romance, Mark Twain—though not so much the Mark Twain of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* as the later, more pessimistic Mark Twain of "What is Man?" and *The Mysterious Stranger*.

The Twain of these bitter philosophical meditations is much given to comparing man with his fellow animals and finding him wanting. "It is like your paltry race," the angel Satan tells young Theodor Fischer in *The Mysterious Stranger,* to be "always lying, always claiming virtues which it hasn't got, always denying them to the higher animals, which alone possess them." It is only man, in Twain's experience, who is cruel, who inflicts pain for the pleasure of inflicting it, who persuades himself, by a "process of grotesque self-deception," to engage in the inherently unjust and dishonorable business of making war. And when the Young Man in "What is Man?" protests that he will not have "man and the other animals put on the same level morally," the Old Man (Twain's mouthpiece) reassures him: "I wasn't going to hoist man up to that."

But next to *The Book of Merlyn,* all this is the merest euphemism. "There are two hundred and fifty thousand separate species of animal in this world," Arthur's court magician tells him,

> and of these no less than two thousand eight hundred and fifty are mammals like man. They all of them have some form of politics or another—it was the one mistake my old friend Aristotle made, when he defined his man as a Political Animal—yet man himself, this miserable nonentity among two hundred and forty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine others, goes drivelling along his tragic political groove, without ever lifting his eyes to the quarter million examples which surround him.

So backward is the human race politically, declares Merlyn, that it can only be divided

> into one wise man, nine knaves, and ninety fools out of every hundred. That is, by an optimistic observer. The nine knaves assemble themselves under the banner of the most knavish among them, and become "politicians": the wise man stands out, because he knows himself to be hopelessly outnumbered, and devotes himself to poetry, mathematics or philosophy, while the ninety fools plod off behind the banners of the nine villains, according to fancy, into the labyrinths of chicanery, malice and warfare.

And, Merlyn adds, in a passage that brings to mind, for its even-handed scorn of all forms of government, H. L. Mencken:

> It is pleasant to have command, observes Sancho Panza, even over a flock of sheep, and that is why the politicians raise their banners. It is, moreover, the same thing for the sheep whatever the banner. If it is democracy, then the nine knaves will become members of parliament; if fascism, they will become party leaders; if communism, commissars. Nothing will be different, except the name. The fools will be still fools, the knaves still leaders, the results still exploitation.

*THE WORST, THE MOST IN-*excusable, of man's deeds of exploitation is the mass murder he calls war. "Do you know," the Magus asks the King, "that Lapouge has reckoned that nineteen million men are killed in Europe in every century, so that the amount of blood spilled would feed a fountain of blood running seven hundred litres an hour since the beginning of history?" The occasion for this bitter observation is a kind of symposium among Merlyn, Arthur, and a number of animals (a badger, a hedgehog, etc.) on the topic which had so concerned the King's own thoughts when he was last seen at the end of Book IV of *The Once and Future King,* alone in his tent, awaiting battle against his own son, Mordred—the topic: Why Do Men Fight? When Arthur was a boy, in *The Sword in the Stone* (Book I), he got his education in the same way—by listening to Merlyn and the animals, and letting the magician illustrate an occasional point by transforming his pupil into an apposite animal. It was in *The Sword in the Stone,* for example, that Arthur first became an ant and visited what Merlyn calls "the perfect communist state"—a society in which "everything not forbidden is compulsory."

The King repeats this kind of adventure in *The Book of Merlyn,* and also goes to live for awhile among the stateless, pacific wild geese, who lead him to see the moral superiority of their way of life as compared with man's. But mostly Arthur listens to Merlyn lecture, not only on the evil of man, but also on the specifically *political* character of his descent into warfare.

"We find," the magician tells the King,

> that the warfaring animals are the very ones which tend to limit or to banish individual possessions. It is the ants and bees with their *communal* stomachs and territories, and the men, with their *national* property, who slit each other's throats; while it is the birds with their personal treasure houses and ornamental pleasure-grounds, who remain at peace. The owners of private property in nature are pacific, while those who have invented public property go to war.

"And what," the badger demands to know a few pages on, "is the practical solution?"

"The simplest and easiest in the world," Merlyn answers. "You must abolish such things as tariff barriers, passports, and immigration laws, converting mankind into a federation of individuals. In fact, you must abolish nations, and not only nations but states also; indeed, you must tolerate no unit larger than the family."

It is little wonder that W. A. R. Collins, White's English publisher, balked at printing such heresy in 1941. Yet there is more to *The Book of Merlyn* than the polemics of a pacifist anarchist, and Collins's decision to publish the first four books of the quintet *(The Sword in the Stone, The Queen of Air and Darkness, The Ill-Made Knight,* and *The Candle in the Wind)* as the whole was a betrayal, not only of the novel's integrity as a statement, but also of its integrity as a story.

*WHAT THE BOOK OF MER-*lyn does for the rest of *The Once and Future King* is nothing less than provide the key which makes it all cohere: the explicit identification of Merlyn, not Arthur, as the true protagonist of the story. It was Merlyn, one sees from reading his *Book,* who set the whole tale in motion and held it there—arranging for Arthur's birth, his education and upbringing, his political success, his marriage, his try at utopia—by way of pursuing his own pipe dream of a civilized society among men. Every one of Merlyn's contentious monologues is thus also a fragment of portraiture, limning in all its frustrated, embittered nakedness the mind of the real prime mover of Camelot.

The result, for the reader of the entire quintet—and particularly for a reader sensitive to White's often imaginative, vivid, and graceful prose—is an unexpectedly rich and satisfying reading experience: perhaps, in its way, not unlike that provided such a reader by the final book of *The Lord of the Rings.* But taken by itself, as it is being taken by more than a few readers of the late 1970s, taken out of the context its author intended but was denied by political circumstance, T. H. White's last book is far less the fare of Middle Earthlings than of those curmudgeons who suspect with Sam Clemens that "fleas can be taught nearly anything that a Congressman can."

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FILM

AN UNMARRIED WOMAN, directed by Paul Mazursky.

Breakfast at Bloomie's

STEPHEN HARVEY

OF THE HANDFUL OF CURrent American moviemakers with a consistently personal viewpoint, Paul Mazursky is doubtless the most likable. Alternating between gently acidulous social satire *(Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice, Blume in Love, Harry and Tonto)* and self-deprecating autobiography *(Alex in Wonderland, Next Stop Greenwich Village)*, Mazursky combines a coolly perceptive eye for the vagaries of modern life with a heart of pure melted butter, brimming over with affection for the everyday eccentrics who populate his movies. No one save perhaps Woody Allen has so deliciously distilled the difference between karma-ridden, laid-back L.A. and hyperthyroid Bohemian New York, and the wistful optimism of his view of both places set Mazursky apart at a time when most filmmakers were wallowing in anomie.

At his best, Mazursky can be a kind of Brooklyn/Beverly Hills Jean Renoir; at his wallowing worst, his vision is so glazed with sweetness that he becomes a Jewish Rod McKuen, with punch lines. *An Unmarried Woman*, his latest film, is an exasperating mixture of the two—much of it is so canny and genial that its subsequent plummet into softheadedness is doubly irritating. At the same time, I suspect *An Unmarried Woman* may prove his biggest popular hit since *Bob and Carol*, although for rather different reasons. Where *Bob and Carol* was audacious in an era which prized daring, *An Unmarried Woman* is a cozy exercise in dreamy wish fulfillment.

Even the least of Mazursky's past work was stamped with originality —*Alex in Wonderland*, which both literally and figuratively dealt with a director's desperate attempt to follow up on his first success, was a pretentious mess in many respects, but its larky self-consciousness was at least unorthodox, to put it mildly. *An Unmarried Woman*, however, is really just the first large-screen treatment of a recent small-screen movie staple—the inspirational portrait of a woman's struggle to regain her equilibrium and identity when the smug security of her marriage abruptly disintegrates. Recent though the cycle is, a few conventions have already emerged which are as rigid as the rules governing genres that took decades to harden into clichés. The woman in question (impersonated on television by the likes of Hope Lange and Lee Remick) is invariably blonde, slender, affluent, and articulate, encumbered by precocious children and an obtusely conventional spouse. The marital rupture is quickly followed by the heroine's quest for a job, conveyed in a brisk montage of demeaning encounters with personnel types who cluck their tongues over her lack of professional experience. By the fourth or fifth commercial break, however, the heroine is ensconsed in a glamorous post in some art-related enterprise (as I recall, Lange designed book jackets while Remick ended up as a fashion illustrator). In the meantime, Lange/Remick is forced to come to grips with the dilemmas posed by her newfound sexual freedom. First come the predatory leches, identifiable by their executive suite paunches and balding pates; then comes the potential Mr. Wonderful, dark-haired for photogenic contrast, sensual, and sensitive to her need for independence. At this juncture the errant husband makes his reappearance, duly repentant and pathetically eager for a reconciliation. By now se-

EVA MIGNOLI

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cure in the knowledge of her own self-worth, Lange/Remick lets him down gracefully, and girds herself for an uncertain yet unequivocally fulfilling future. Slow fade to credits.

An Unmarried Woman is pretty much cut from the same stencil, the only discernible variation being that the title character is a confirmed urbanite who is working in her own art gallery right from the beginning. Erica, as played by Jill Clayburgh, has all the expected prerequisites; these are complemented by straying husband Michael Murphy (straight from playing similar pin striped creeps in *Nashville* and *The Front*), Lisa Lucas as the daughter with a sharp line of repartee, and Alan Bates as Dream Lover. A number of critics have breathlessly exclaimed over how truthful this movie is, and how "typical" its heroine, and audiences thus far seem to be responding in kind, which strikes me as willful suspension of disbelief of the highest order. Now, there's no doubt that these supportive stereotypes are infinitely preferable to those nasty homebody-or-hooker ones of the recent past, and it's certainly true that women are as entitled to their glistening role models as are the men in the audience, who have had a much wider selection of likely icons to choose from of late. The mistake is to pretend that a movie like this has any less tangential connection with reality than Clint Eastwood's "Magnum Force" melodramas. By now it should be obvious that the real poignancy of women in this situation comes from the fact that they are not necessarily endowed with such a glittering array of attributes, are just as likely to be stifled in some prosaic job as the male half of the population, and may well have to settle for something short of eternal rapture in the romance department as well. (The fact that some women might find it preferable to avoid any permanent attachments is a possibility apparently too radical even to be hinted at in this context.)

Nevertheless, Mazursky is infinitely more skilled at purveying myths than his TV movie counterparts have been, and for much of its length *An Unmarried Woman* is amiable enough to seduce even the most captious viewer. Paradoxically, Mazursky has a talent for romanticizing the territory he's staked out for himself while rooting it in the kind of naturalistic detail that gives it a semblance of truth. As heroine Erica shuttles along the chic Soho–Upper East Side axis, Mazursky provides a succinct Cook's tour of present-day fashionable Manhattan, pausing for Dim Sum brunches in Chinatown, *louche* loft parties on West Broadway, and deco-delight cocktail hours at One Fifth Avenue. It's photographed with the high-burnished clarity found in all Mazursky's work; this is the most intoxicating portrait of the city in any movie since *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. (Throughout the screening I had several twinges of longing for this gilded Gotham before realizing that I live not three blocks from where most of it was shot.)

ADDED TO THIS IS AN ACUTE ear for the everyday trivia of urban small talk, ranging from sexual braggadocio to they-don't-make-actresses-like-Davis-and-Hepburn-anymore nostalgia. Mazursky is most effective when he's balancing pathos with parody; he's always been good at capturing nuances of human behavior that elude most directors, and certain moments have a startling emotional accuracy—the tremors in Murphy's crumpled face as he blurts out his pent-up confession of adultery, or Clayburgh's shrill babble directed at some imagined lapse of her daughter's, but really prompted by a vexing interlude with a randy blind date. He's far less persuasive when he feels compelled to underscore the big moments with Meaning, lest we miss the point. Erica's best friend delivers a Valium-booze-and-Mr. Goodbar-blues litany which is achingly banal, and the whole movie is punctuated with a blaring brass score by Bill Conti *(Rocky)*, a case of Max Steiner overkill if there ever was one.

Although Mazursky tends to take the adorableness of the title character a bit too much for granted, Clayburgh is undeniably ingratiating to watch. Wistful-eyed, sharp-tongued Erica is by far the richest role Clayburgh has had thus far in her career, and throughout it's clear that she knows exactly what to do with it. There's a veiled, elusive quality about Clayburgh—she doesn't have the arresting impact of a born film star, and the details of her work tend to blend into a vague memory as soon as the movie is over. Yet her performance is consistently subtle and well-modulated, and she gives coherence to the potentially bewildering gamut of emotions Erica endures in the journey from contented wife to uncertain free agent.

Because Clayburgh has managed to invest the part with a core of truth, you care enough for Erica to take her situation seriously, which is more, ultimately, than Mazursky seems capable of doing. The minute Erica has her first brief encounter with big-souled Saul the abstract artist, the movie begins to sacrifice genuine sentiment for facile sentimentality. Up to this point, the film's basic assumption was that a woman could in fact lead a complete life on her own; this is completely undermined when the obligatory soft-focus romance is introduced. Saul is no more than an abstraction himself—a figment out of a Helen Gurley Brown fairy tale crossed with the surly aestheticism and little-boy puckishness of one of Ken Russell's Great Artists. It's no wonder that Bates shuffles and mumbles and generally seems so uncomfortable in the part—how do you play the answer to a working girl's dream without looking ridiculous?

Ultimately, I think a lot of people are going to find *An Unmarried Woman* gratifying for reasons that transcend good and bad. With an upbeat flourish, it trumpets the notion that you can too have everything, and on precisely your own terms as well. Considering its technical polish and sporadic insight, this could have been one of the most penetrating American movies in years. Instead what we're left with is a prettified romance with delusions of reality. ❏

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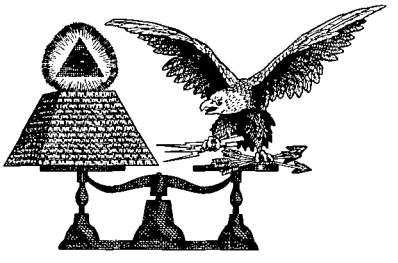

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